

The Ryedale Historian

Number 25

2010–2011



Helmsley Archaeological and Historical Society

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Helmsley Archaeological and
Historical Society

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Honorary Chairman

Mr R. Wardell

Honorary Editor

Dr Farrell Burnett
Newlands
Main Street
Sinnington YO62 6SH
fburnett@btinternet.com

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The Honorary Editor
Newlands
Main Street
Sinnington
North Yorkshire YO62 6SH
fburnett@btinternet.com

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Editorial

It gives me great pleasure to introduce myself as the new editor of the *Ryedale Historian*, a journal which has a long history of publishing and disseminating distinguished research on Ryedale and the surrounding area. I am grateful to committee and other members of the Society for help and advice in producing this issue.

Readers will find a broad range of stimulating articles on the history and archaeology of Ryedale from the Bronze Age to the late nineteenth century. I am especially glad to welcome two new contributors. Peter Witham's article on the eighteenth-century bridges of Robert Shout Senior and Junior is particularly appreciated by one who uses a Shout bridge daily. Gill Cookson's research on the depopulation of the village of Menethorpe in the late nineteenth century reminds us just how recently our landscape has been changed and with what costs to former inhabitants. I am also delighted to welcome the return of two longstanding contributors, Madge Allison and Terry Manby. The former has initiated exciting research on the relationship between Anglo-Saxon place-names and possible assembly places, while the latter fills in the gaps in our knowledge of Thomas Kendall, the great nineteenth-century Pickering collector, and tells the post-discovery story of the jet necklace in the Leeds City Museum. The issue also boasts reviews of three recently published books on the area.

The Society welcomes new members and new contributors to the *Ryedale Historian*. To this end, later in the year we shall be publishing on the Society's website (www.helmsleyarchaeologicalandhistoricalsociety.org.uk) advice and guidance on submitting articles. In the meantime, let me encourage anyone who is considering writing an article for the journal to contact me.

We mourn the passing of Philip Rahtz and will be publishing an appreciation of him in a forthcoming issue.

Finally, the following publications are recent additions to the Society library: *The Making of the British Landscape* by Francis Pryor (2010); Council of British Archaeology's *Forum Yorkshire* (1983, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1991, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996); Helmsley Parish Magazines 1872–1925, The Ryedale Family History Group; Whitby Literary and Philosophical Society Annual Reports (2009, 2010); The Vale of Pickering Wetlands Project. PLACE report (2001); *Helmsley, or Reminiscences of a 100 Years Ago* by Isaac Cooper; *Marton: A Short History* by Richard Lawton (2009); and *The Vikings* by Martin Arnold (2006).

Farrell Burnett
Honorary Editor

Water from the Moors Continuation Project

by Tony Wright

Since the report in the *Ryedale Historian* 24 (2008–09), the Continuation Project has proceeded slowly. Mags Waughman and Graham Lee of the North York Moors National Park Authority specified that they would like the condition of the watercourses to be classified from A (good) to D (untraceable), and we have followed Alan Appleton's suggestion to subdivide each of these grades in two. Alan also devised codes, so that the courses can be marked on maps in colours which show the condition. Mags led a training day on 26 November 2008, attended by eight members, on which we used a section of the Nawton course at Wind Hill to compare and calibrate our judgements. Since then, Alan has graded most of the Lastingham race and parts of the Kirbymoorside and Starfits races. Stephen and Joce Gibson have graded most of the Rievaulx race and Barbara Hickman and Tony Wright have surveyed long sections of the Nawton, Pockley and Carlton races and most of the Hill End course. George and Pat Donner have surveyed further parts of the Nawton course and John Dean is working closer to Beadlam. In general, GPS receivers are used to record the course, with either notes or waypoints showing changes in condition.

In January 2009, members of the Society had the opportunity of excavating the end of the Rievaulx watercourse at Abbots Hagg Farm, under the guidance of Shaun Richardson of Ed Dennison Archaeological Services. Although nothing now remains of the course, we learned basic excavation techniques, surveying and something of the surface geology of the tabular hills which produce the need for separate water supply.



Rievaulx watercourse above Laverock Hall,
March 2010. Photo: Tony Wright.

In August 2010, members recorded features on the Nawton watercourse close to Birk Nab, where the landowner was about to do landscape work. About a kilometre of course and two brigsons were documented and photographed.

The strange fascination of discovering and then following a small groove across miles of landscape has endured. Finding small features, such as brigsons, smoots, causeways and cut stones, and discovering the extraordinary skill of the builders adds to the fun.

The Beadlam Water Race Interpretation Board

by John Dean



The Beadlam Water Race Interpretation Board. From left, David Smith, Mike Thurlow, Sandra Thurlow, Bernard Simpson, John Dean, some of the volunteers who raised money and fixed the board on site. Photo: John Paul.

In November 2010 the Beadlam Water Race Interpretation Board was erected in High Lane, Beadlam. Exploring the connection between Joseph Foord and Beadlam and Norton, it informs visitors' view of Beadlam Rigg and the Nawton side of Howldale. John Paul, a local resident, designed the board. The text written on the board draws upon the late Isabel McLean's monumental publication, *Water from the Moors: The Life and Works of Joseph Foord*, and a special map from her book prepared by Nick Staley of the North York Moors National Park Authority details the area. John Paul enhanced the text with his own illustrations of Joseph Foord and a nineteenth-century waterman, George Wright of Skiplam and Beadlam. Dick Raines Design of York prepared the finished board and local volunteers crafted a metal stand and oak frame. Funding was provided by Ryedale District Council through a small-scale Leader grant and Beadlam Parish Council raised extra money by an evening with Edward Harrison in Nawton Memorial Hall.

The Shout Bridges

by Peter Witham

Introduction

This article describes in detail the bridges in Ryedale built or significantly repaired by a father and son from the Shout family, a family which contributed greatly in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to the field of what we would now call civil engineering.¹ I became interested in the family purely by chance. Two years ago I was carrying out research about the erection and running of a large country house named Elemore Hall, situated about five miles to the east of Durham City, when I first encountered the name of Robert Shout – a mason from Helmsley who was responsible for the rebuilding and enlargement of the Hall between the years 1749 and 1753. Why should a Helmsley mason be involved in a design and construction project 70 miles from his home when he lacked local knowledge and with perhaps better opportunities closer to home?

In what follows I hope not only to provide the context in which Shout built Elemore Hall but also to describe the contribution Robert Shout Sr and Robert Shout Jr made to the physical environment we see today in Ryedale and surrounding area through an examination of the bridges they built and repaired, some of which are in use today.

When looking at the construction of bridges within a particular timescale, it often becomes difficult to determine from existing records whether one is dealing with repairs to an existing design, or whether the repair could have developed into a full rebuild, possibly based on the original or even a different design. Eighteenth-century North Riding Quarter Sessions' reports noting the various actions taken are not always clear on this aspect. Thus, later engineers, including the illustrious John Carr (who worked in Ryedale between 1772 and 1803 and was Robert Shout Sr's immediate successor as Bridge Surveyor), are sometimes credited with certain bridge designs or major rebuilding when in fact their contributions are difficult to gauge precisely.²

The Shout Family

Robert Shout Sr (born in either 1702 or 1703) was the son of William Shout, a master mason who lived and worked in the village of Weston, close to Otley in the West Riding, where his father and some of his siblings were accomplished masons.³ Parish records show a long line of masons named Shout, Shoutt, Shut, Shutt, Shute and other variations. Following their marriage, William and his wife Mary moved to Welburn, around 1702, possibly to obtain work at nearby Castle Howard (although no record exists of such employment), the building of which began in 1700 and continued for more than two decades. Additionally, there could well have been more work available in the vicinity of Helmsley since the building of Duncombe Park began in about 1711. William must have had plenty of work in order to support a large family.

Robert Sr married Margaret Driffield at Gilling East sometime in the 1720s and they had 10 children (one of whom was Robert Shout Jr) who were baptised at Helmsley. It is likely that Robert Shout Sr learned many of the skills needed to become a competent builder from his father. This was not unusual at the time, since during the first part of the

eighteenth century formal education in building and civil engineering was rare and most of the master masons and builders of the time relied upon self-tuition and engaged in a pupillage system.

Within a couple of decades, masons and other 'contractors' were developing a continuum of projects from local to regional and then on to national level. Large agricultural schemes had prevailed earlier when land had been reclaimed from marshland or developed as grand garden landscape, developments encompassing water and lake management. Road and river schemes offered further opportunities to gifted or experienced masons with road building, bridge construction, weir and dam development or canal and harbour growth. As wealth increased, there were more opportunities to design and build large mansions and country houses for those who had accumulated their wealth from a move into industry or from trade towards the end of the eighteenth century.

Because many of the Shouts' most lasting achievements in Ryedale were bridges, a brief digression on the design and construction of bridges during this period may help us to understand better the background to their work.

Eighteenth-century Bridges

Arched bridges formed the bulk of bridges built by eighteenth-century masons. There are a number of different types of arched bridges:

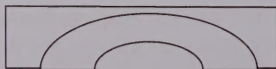
1. Round arched



2. Round arched on pillars or piers



3. Elliptical



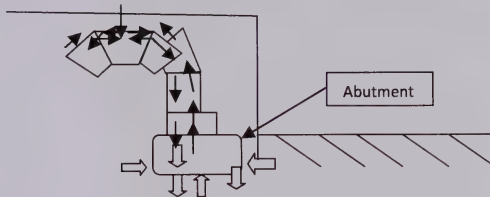
4. Segmental



An arched bridge depends upon the force of compression, where the weight of the bridge structure is transferred into the abutments of the bridge and then ultimately into the ground. The fact that the force of tension is absent in an arched bridge means that it can sustain a much greater span than could a beam bridge.

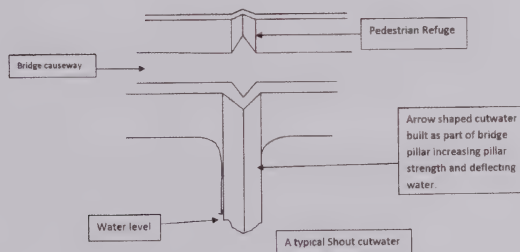
The big disadvantage of any arch is that it cannot stand until complete and it must first rest on some false structure which later will be removed. Masons first built timber formers which the arch would follow in shape to form the curvature and to allow building work to continue. When the arches are complete, the downward forces coming through the structure must be met with equal forces coming up from the ground. Thus it is

necessary to construct substantial abutments on which the arch will stand or it will eventually collapse. Collapses in arched bridges invariably were caused by the ground on which an abutment or arch was resting being undermined. Flood waters which took away soil and materials from under the bridge inevitably caused a collapse of the structure. Once the bridge structure was impaired, satisfactory repairs were often not possible and a complete rebuild was necessary.



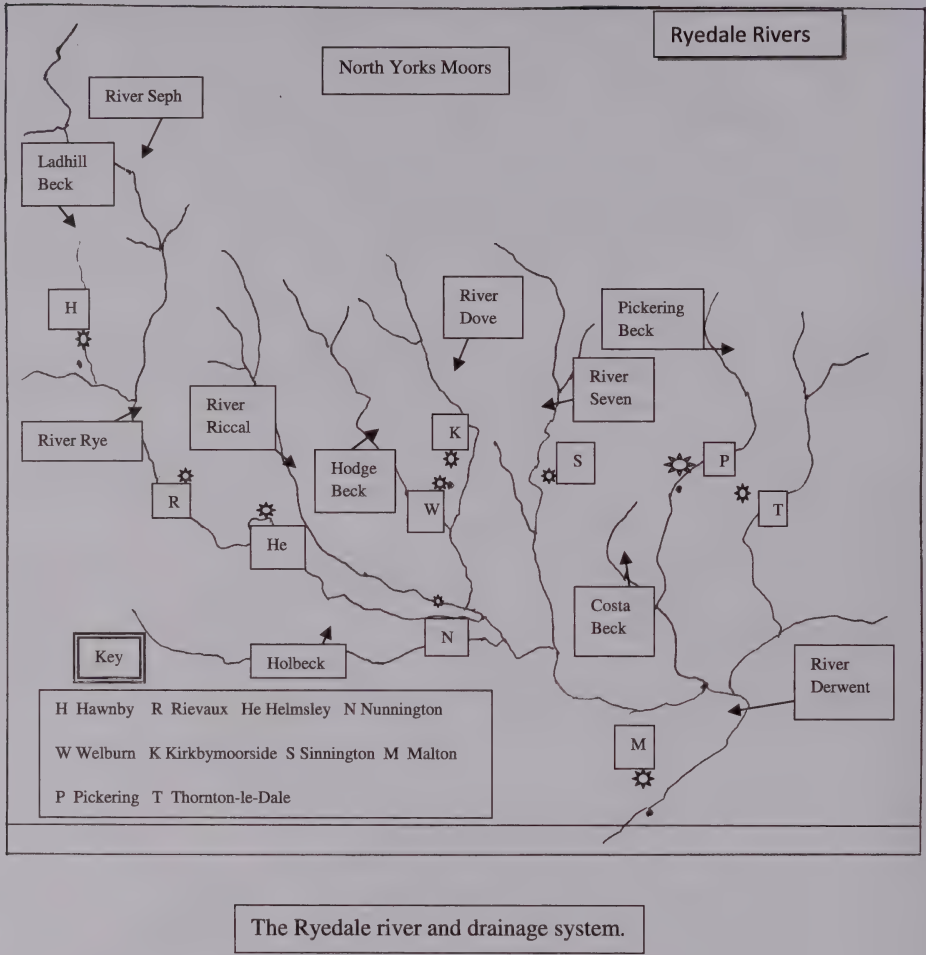
The diagram above shows how forces are distributed through an arch. The load from above the keystone presses on the stones on either side of it and they in turn press on the stones below them until the push is applied to the end supports (abutments) which often are embedded in the ground. Thus the ground surrounding the abutment is squeezed and the ground pushes back. This action creates a resistance which is passed back up the arch stone by stone until it reaches the key stone.

Older bridges, including most built during the eighteenth century, were generally built at right angles to the banks of rivers and only later were they built on the skew. Bridges that have abutments above water level are pointed at each end (cutwaters) to enable them to deflect the water as it flows past. As will become apparent in what follows, Shout father and son both built bridges that usually had pedestrian refuges which extended below the water level thus forming a type of cutwater for the central bridge pillars.



Ryedale is blessed with some of the most beautiful rivers in the United Kingdom. Generally they are slow flowing and have gentle characteristics. However, they are subject to sudden violent surges and can change swiftly into a raging torrent. The landscape suffers destruction, buildings and settlements are destroyed or damaged and in very serious cases lives are lost. In Ryedale there are certain natural features which tend to increase the risk of flooding. First, there are a number of rivers flowing south from the North York Moors, their catchment area. Thus the rivers are subject to receive larger than usual volumes of water, particularly following events such as sudden lengthy deluges over a concentrated area or sudden melting of snow on higher ground. This extra water

very often enters the river at a high point and quickly speeds up, increasing the risk of surface damage.



Robert Shout Senior

The first recorded mention of Robert Shout as a civil engineer occurs in the Thirsk Quarter Sessions for April 1731, when he was instructed to build a stone bridge at Yedingham to replace a wooden structure that was in an old and ruinous condition. He was paid £200 and he was a mere 30 years old. Yedingham was a village on the border between the North and East Ridings. The original bridge was known as Ful, later known as Foulbridge; the earliest mention of it was in 1377–8 when the wooden bridge had to be replaced.⁴

The bridge that Robert Shout Sr built was a hump-backed, three-arched stone bridge crossing the River Derwent, close to the remains of the medieval Priory of St Mary. The bridge lasted from 1731 until 1970 when it was replaced by a modern road bridge. In the

engraving below, one can see three characteristics of Shout bridges: hump-backing, cutwaters and pedestrian shelters.

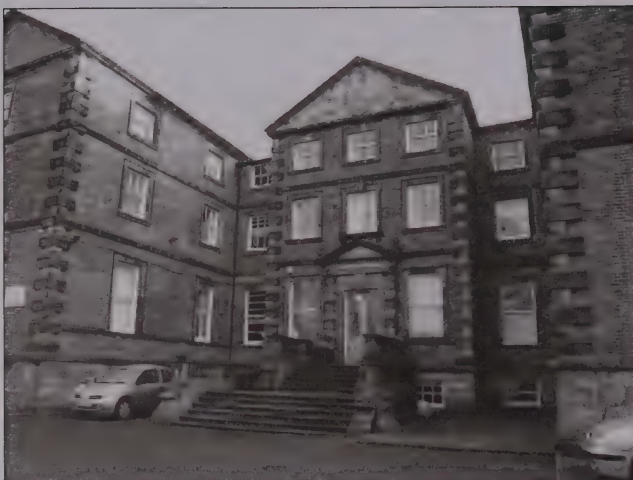


An engraving of Yedingham Bridge by Francis Jukes in 1784, some 50 years after construction.

The records of the numerous Quarter Sessions in England throughout the decades of the eighteenth century provide us with evidence that many of the road systems in the counties and shires of England were being given over to the county authorities as part of their responsibilities rather than the individual parishes or private landowners which had carried out that duty previously. Many parishes, either through lack of funds or expertise, had failed to maintain the road systems and as traffic and increased trade grew, it was necessary for the road systems to be better maintained. So, for example, in 1731 responsibility for the upkeep of Yedingham Bridge passed to the county.

In 1749 Robert was appointed by the-then owner of Elemore Hall in County Durham, George Baker, to replace the original stone-built, Elizabethan house with an enlarged brick-built building. His plans followed the E-shaped plan of the original house, but they also called for a far more imposing structure of three storeys with a seven-bayed entrance front with a grand three-bayed central block and two flanking single-bayed wings. A nearby brick kiln was producing thousands of bricks each year in order to construct a walled garden, which was finally completed in 1749. Robert decided to construct the house with bricks rather than stone which would have had to be imported from some distance away.⁵

The building was all but complete by 1750, quite an achievement, and at a cost of £451. 12s. 8d., according to Shout's accounts.⁶ The whole building was topped off with a Westmorland slate roof built over an imposing roof structure. The roof, guttering and inside work was complete by 1752 and the Baker family moved into the hall in May of that year. This imposing building, built in the Palladian style, is today used as a school for pupils with learning difficulties run by Durham County Council.⁷



The imposing front of Elemore Hall. Photo: Peter Witham.

Following his move back to North Yorkshire, Shout became more involved with bridge repairs and building. In 1752 he was involved in the repair and rebuilding of a section of the bridge at Whitby.⁸ This bridge was unusual that it had arches of different sizes and the middle arch was raised to allow the passage of sailing craft beneath it. It is not clear which section Robert Shout rebuilt but later in 1766 (when his son, Robert Shout Jr, was involved) the rebuilt bridge was fitted with a drawbridge-type arrangement of platforms, ropes, timbers and pulleys which raised the centre section to allow passage for boats.

Robert Shout's next task appears to have been the rebuilding of Newsham Bridge over the river Rye between Malton and Kirkbymoorside. Since Robert was awarded a total of £176.2s.0d. to complete the work, we can surmise that it must have been almost totally rebuilt.⁹ The bridge, which was completed in 1758, was unusual in that it had a total of four arches, 22' 10", 31' 8", 22' 10" in width and a flood arch of 13' 6". It is possible today to see the original bridge, which has been substantially widened with the fourth arch filled in when embankment work was completed. This particular area has been subjected to serious flooding over the centuries and the difficulties faced today must be similar to those experienced in the eighteenth century.



Newsham Bridge showing the fourth flood arch on the right. Photo: Peter Witham.

The weather during the years 1752 to 1754 must have been poor since other bridges in the area suffered from flood damage. Normanby Bridge, not too far from Newsham over the River Seven between Malton and Kirkbymoorside, in 1754 needed Shout's attention when the battlements were thrown down by flooding. In this instance Robert was paid £10.17s.6d. to carry out the repair work.¹⁰ He also was required to do remedial work on Tyle (sometimes known as Tylas or Tile) House Bridge near the village of Welburn (close to the A170), and Deepdale Bridge, northeast of Kirkbymoorside over the Catter Beck (OS 712 874).

Tilehouse Bridge is still visible today standing in a quiet backwater just off the A170 between Nawton and Kirkbymoorside. Originally the main road between Helmsley and Scarborough would have crossed the bridge straddling the Hodge Beck, but today, following a road diversion some years ago, it lies dejected and forgotten among trees close to the entrance to Welburn School.



Tilehouse Bridge today, overgrown, forlorn and forgotten.
Photo: Peter Witham.

Prior to the adoption of Buttercrambe Bridge (located between Malton and Stamford Bridge) by the North Riding County Council in 1728, the bridge was in private hands and Henry Darley, the local landowner, consented to pay for the repairs. Repairs had been carried out in 1756 (costing £1.9.2) and again in 1758 (costing £2.14.1).¹¹ By 1758 the bridge was described as being in a very poor state of repair.¹² By 1764 the bridge required rebuilding which was begun later that year by Robert Shout, who was £284.9s.5d.¹³ One characteristic of Shout bridges stands out on the Buttercrambe Bridge. The pedestrian shelters (refuges) which he constructed on the bridge surfaces generally appear to be arrow-shaped rather than rounded or rectangular. The bridge today has one large arch of 45'; the two flood arches were built by Robert Shout.



Pointed pedestrian shelters on Buttercrambe Bridge.
Photo: Peter Witham.

The floods of 1754 also damaged Scawton Bridge, now generally known as Rievaulx Bridge. It had been known as Scawton Bridge from the earliest records and the early bridge(s) may have been built by the monks of Rievaulx in medieval times.¹⁴ In 1756 Thirsk Quarter Sessions instructed Robert Shout of Helmsley to rebuild Scawton Bridge

for the sum of £716.7s.2d. It may have been necessary to build a temporary bridge which became known as the Horse Bridge while the main bridge was being constructed. However, this bridge was carried away by the Rye the following year. The story is told that a large haystack travelled downriver in the flood and wedged itself under the bridge causing substantial damage.¹⁵ In 1757 it is noted in the Thirsk Quarter Sessions that Robert Shout was to receive £37.6s.0d to complete the Horse Bridge which should have been paid earlier to him. In 1758 he received £111.14s.2d. at Malton Quarter Sessions for making a breach above the bridge. Perhaps this was some kind of flood alleviation channel? There are few notes on this aspect and it appears that it was removed in 1764.¹⁶ The bridge that we see today may well have been widened since Shout's time.



Scawton Bridge showing humpback and arrow-shaped refuges characteristic of Shout bridges. Photo: Peter Witham.

During the long dry spell in 1955 the River Rye fell very low and immediately above the bridge on the east side a much-decayed but still very heavy beam of wood was uncovered. It was possible to see the points from which uprights had been attached. It is possible that this may have been an important base structure for the medieval bridge¹⁷ or it may have been part of the Horse Bridge built in 1756–57.

In 1755 Robert Shout was called upon to carry out repairs to Shaken Bridge (earlier called Shaking Bridge) which was located close to the village of Hawnby upriver from Rievaulx.¹⁸ Again the damage had been done by flooding of the River Rye. The bridge was a single span of 44' 3" over the river. The older bridge had an elliptical arch and subsequently, when it was widened, it became segmental (not a Shout feature, so he clearly completed what someone else had designed). Thirsk Quarter Sessions in October of that year awarded Shout the sum of £120 for completing and finishing the new bridge, responsibility for which had been taken over by the county in 1737. The same bridge was widened in 1902–3 and in the deluge in Ryedale in the summer of 2005 the bridge was substantially damaged and had to be almost completely rebuilt.

In 1757 Robert Shout was appointed Surveyor of Bridges for the North Riding, recognition for the work that he had done over the previous decades.¹⁹ The area for which he was responsible was the area east of the Hambleton Hills. The Hambleton

area was now split into east and west areas, since prior to 1757 the whole area was the responsibility of one surveyor; thus the work load must have significantly increased. This suggests that the area which included Ryedale as a whole produced sufficient work to split the post. The few years prior to 1757 had produced a number of floods within the catchment area of Ryedale and beyond and this had increased the amount of remedial repairs needed.

In 1758–9 Robert Shout was granted a gratuity of £80 to rebuild Keldholme Bridge.²⁰ The bridge over the River Dove lay on the old Helmsley to Pickering road. It was most probably a ford up to the end of the sixteenth century.²¹ The River Dove broadens out here having travelled through a steep-sided valley which constricted the flow of water, causing it to flow very quickly. In 1646 the bridge was carried away.²² The first bridge was destroyed by winter floods and from 1641 onwards there was constant rebuilding due to its location. The bridge was eventually widened in 1897–98 at a cost of £273.7.6.²³

In 1760 Robert Shout carried out significant repairs to Egton Bridge in the Esk Valley and Howsham Bridge, which spanned the Derwent west of Malton.²⁴ In 1750 Egton Bridge was put under the administration of the county, which ordered the bridge to be repaired; this was followed by a further instruction in 1760. The Quarter Sessions at Malton in January of that year ‘heard that the bridge was in a bad state’ and instructed Robert Shout to rebuild it for £472. It lasted until 1930 when it was destroyed by flood and two arches were replaced with a metal girder span over the river Esk. Utley, writing in the 1960s, stated that originally there were two arches of 24’ and a central arch of 25’6”. The one remaining arch of 24’ after the 1930 flood was the remains of the eighteenth-century rebuilding, that is the one built by Shout in 1760.²⁵ The bridge observed by Utley in the 1960s was itself replaced in the 1990s and is said by local people to resemble the earlier stone bridge partly washed away in the 1930 flood.

The volume of work being undertaken by Robert Shout during the period 1752–1760 was extremely large and he must have had teams of masons and workers carrying out much of the day-to-day building and repairs. In fact, he would have been acting as a civil engineering contractor to use today’s term. However, there was another Shout waiting in the wings to assist: his son, Robert Shout Junior. Born in 1734, he would have been serving his apprenticeship in the 1750s, ready to step into the shoes of his father when required.

Deterioration of bridge structures rather than flood damage meant that a number of bridges required running repairs. Kirkham Bridge was one such bridge, a fine bridge of three masonry arches in a beautiful setting close to Kirkham Abbey. No exact date for building is known but one may assume that a bridge of some sort had been built in medieval times, probably by monks from the abbey. Leland, who passed this way on his travels throughout the North Country in 1534–40, described the bridge as being in a dangerous condition and ready for rebuilding. In July 1760 the Quarter Sessions at Guisborough paid £75 to Robert Shout to carry out repairs to the bridge and later that year he was awarded a further £75 by Thirsk Quarter Sessions. He was contracted to replace two arches and one pillar at a cost of £480. Examination of the bridge today, which has subsequently been considerably widened, shows two round arches and a pointed arch close to the northern bank. It is likely that the two rounded arches were built by Shout together with the pillar between them. The pointed arch is most likely part of the older medieval bridge.



Two views of Kirkham Bridge as it is today. Photos: Peter Witham.

In 1806 the bridge was again partly rebuilt and widened. Since the introduction of motorised traffic the bridge has been damaged on a number of occasions, particularly the parapets, but the structure still holds good in spite of the increased weight of traffic.

Robert Shout Sr died in 1771, after more than 30 years of bridge-building in North Yorkshire, but was not replaced (by John Carr) as Bridge Surveyor until 1772.²⁶ He was buried in Helmsley churchyard. A monument, which later disappeared, was erected to his memory by his family and read:

In memory of Mr ROB SHOUT who died 1771, aged 70 years, Mrs MARGARET SHOUT his wife died June 19th 1780, aged 68 years, MATT their youngest son died June 26 1778 aged 20 years, Mr ROBERT SHOUT engineer of Sunderland and Mr BEN SHOUT of London duly and ... have caused this tomb to be erected.

Robert Shout Junior

Robert Shout Jr may have acted in his father's name during the period between the senior Shout's death in 1771 and the appointment of John Carr in 1772. It is likely that the younger Robert was operating his own company or partnership for a number of years since mention of his name in Quarter Session reports appears during the period 1760 to 1774.

In 1762 Thirsk Quarter Sessions decided to rebuild Sleights Bridge over the Esk. They instructed Shout Jr to do this for a sum of £550.²⁷ According to Utley, the first stone bridge there was built in about 1100.²⁸ A bridge was built there by John Baines in 1725 but on inspection by county officials in 1727 the work was found to be so careless that it was in danger of falling down.²⁹ John Carr, in his 1806 *Bridge Book*, wrote that 'Plan of Sleights Bridge which is built with good stone and appears to be well built, but I suspect the foundations to be laid very little below the surface of low water as appears from the elevation and therefore should be well observed. This bridge was executed by Shout about the year 1760.'³⁰ The bridge built by Shout Jr had three arches, two side arches of

35'6" and a central arch of 45'. It was unfortunately carried away in the 1930 flood and today's bridge is in a different position.

Robert Shout Jr was engaged in 1764 to repair Howe Bridge over the Rye between Pickering and Malton.³¹ Following the discovery that the bridge was in worse shape than originally thought, and the fact that a widening was desirable, a full rebuild was necessary.³² He was paid two sums of £100 and then £650 for the rebuild from Thirsk Quarter Sessions.³³ In 1766 he was granted, together with a partner called Ellis, a sum of £112.15s.9d. to extend and complete the flood arches at each end of the bridge. Howe Bridge must have proved to be a substantial structure since it lasted until 1938–1940, when a new diversion and bridge were built largely because the River Rye had modified its course. Today nothing remains of the old bridge.

In 1768 Thirsk Quarter Sessions contracted Robert Shout Jr to rebuild Sinnington Bridge in stone. This bridge, still in use today in a beautiful village setting, consists of a single arch with a span of 41' over the River Seven. The bridge in 1896 was widened and strengthened and took all of the traffic along the old A170 until 1938, when a bypass with its own bridge was constructed. Shout's work, costing a little over £120 back in 1768, must have been well worth it. The photo below shows a simple, single arched bridge with reinforcement on each bank. On its southwest pillar is a Nichol sundial, while the only evidence of a mason's mark is a single X.



The bridge at Sinnington. Photo:
Peter Witham.

In October 1768 Shout was called on by Thirsk Quarter Sessions to rebuild the Tyle House (Tilehouse) Bridge crossing Hodge Beck, the bridge which his father had repaired but had not rebuilt in 1758 and again in 1762. He was offered £160.1s.6d. to rebuild a significant part of the bridge. The following year he also had to rebuild Deepdale Bridge, which his father had repaired. The authority to carry out the rebuilding came from the Quarter Sessions at Thirsk which awarded him £75.4s.0d. for the work.

Robert was also involved with work on the Whitby harbour bridge throughout the period 1765 to 1768. In July 1765 York Quarter Sessions made the decision to replace the existing bridge and 'let to Mr Robert Shout Junior and Partners for the contract to build a new bridge with 5 stone piers for £2,865 plus old materials. To be completed by

Christmas 1767.' Further payments of £47.8.0 (for building the east butment) and £27.10.0 (for damage done during rebuilding) were made to Shout in 1768.³⁴ The Whitby Parish Register recorded in 1766:

In the year 1766 Whitby Bridge was taken down, and built upon a plan somewhat different from the old one for, instead of jewels, stone pillars were now erected, on which timber was laid, framed and put together geometrically, in a manner curious and artful enough and the whole continues so firm, notwithstanding the repeat shocks it receives from our shipping, that it will be a lasting monument to the builder's skill and knowledge in mechanics.

Shout's bridge remained in place until 1835 when it was replaced by a swing bridge.

In January 1772 the Quarter Sessions at Malton granted Robert Jr £40 and later £90.4s.8d. to build an arch and construct 100 yards of road following flooding at Helmsley Bridge. The arch is likely to have been the larger one on the existing bridge. This bridge over the River Rye is medieval in nature and the original bridge was more than likely built by the monks of Rievaulx Abbey. Both arches, of 37' and 23', are pointed with double archlings in two orders. The smaller arch has four chamfered ribs. The bridge has been substantially widened, most noticeably during the nineteenth century, although its original width was less than 12 feet.

From 1772 to 1774 Robert Shout Jr was involved in rebuilding the bridge at East Ayton which carried the old road from Pickering to Scarborough over the Derwent River. In June 1772 the Richmond Quarter Sessions instructed him and R.E. Ellis to repair, widen and enlarge the bridge for £607.17.5, and then in July of the same year the Northallerton Quarter Sessions contracted with him to rebuild (plus old materials) for £1200. It was to be completed before July 1773, and Shout and Ellis were responsible for maintenance for seven years. However, in October 1774 the Northallerton Quarter Session ordered that a letter be sent to Ellis and 'Shute' threatening legal action for non-completion of the contract. Perhaps Shout Junior was not as circumspect as his father, or were there circumstances beyond his control? At any rate, we know that John Carr was called upon to complete the bridge in 1775.³⁵

Between 1776 and 1779 Robert Shout Jr worked on Nunnington Bridge. This three-arched bridge over the River Rye lies close to the present National Trust property of Nunnington Hall. Like many of the Shout bridges it has a large arch flanked by two smaller ones. It is a Grade 2-listed bridge built in a beautiful setting. A stone in the centre of the downstream parapet wall once carried an ornament or symbol but this is now broken off. Nunnington Bridge is an archetypal example of a Shout bridge: three-arched, delicate design, arches down to low-water level with no extensive piers, triangular pedestrian shelters on the deck extending down as triangular cutwaters and so providing extra strength for the spandrels to withstand water pressure. How grateful we are for its beauty and function.



The centre arch of Nunninton Bridge.
Photo: Peter Witham.

Nunninton Bridge may well have been Robert Shout Jr's last major bridge contract in North Yorkshire as shortly after this in 1781 he went to work in Sunderland as Harbour Engineer.

Conclusion

The sons, grandsons and even a great-grandson of Robert Shout Sr were to carry on as masons, engineers, sculptors and architects in Sunderland, Stockton, Scarborough and London, which must be the subject of a future article. In the meantime, those readers living close to and still using bridges built by Robert Shout Senior and Robert Shout Junior can well appreciate the innate genius for construction that they possessed.

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank Mrs Janice Woods, custodian of the Ryedale Family History Group, for the help and advice she gave me regarding the family history of the Shout family. Grateful thanks are also due to the staff at the North Yorkshire County Records Office who checked much of the detail regarding bridges.

Notes

¹ My research on the Shout family has extended far beyond the period and location in which Robert Shout Senior and Junior were active to their descendants in Sunderland, Scarborough, Whitby, Stockton-on-Tees and London which will be the subject of a future article.

² John Carr's own *Yorkshire Bridge Book* and its computerised version in the North Yorkshire County Record Offices are in fact very useful for determining dates and extents of his own work.

³ I am indebted to Mrs Janice Woods of Helmsley who has provided me with the results of her research on the origins and history of Shout family members, using the resources of the Borthwick Institute in York, the West Yorkshire Archive Service in Leeds, the North Yorkshire County Record Office in Northallerton and the Yorkshire Archaeological Society in Leeds.

- ⁴ R.J. Utley, North Riding Bridges, unpublished manuscript in two volumes (the first volume deals with the Rye and Derwent, the second on other North Riding rivers) held in the North Yorkshire County Records Office. I owe a great debt of gratitude to Mr Utley, who was Highways Engineer and Bridge Surveyor for North Riding Council in the 1950s and 1960s. After his retirement, he wrote in hand two books relating to all the bridges in the North Riding. Both books are handwritten and, fortunately for readers, very legible.
- ⁵ J. Gosden (1982), *Elemore Hall Transformed 1749-1753. Transactions of the Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland*, 6, 31-35.
- ⁶ Baker papers in Durham University Library.
- ⁷ R. Surtees (1802), *History and Antiquity of the County Palatine of Durham*, vol. 2. Republished 1972 by E.P. Publishing, Wakefield.
- ⁸ Malton QS, 15 January 1752.
- ⁹ Thirsk Quarter Sessions paid him £26.20 in October 1751 and Malton Quarter Sessions a further £150 i January 1752.
- ¹⁰ Guisborough QS, 16 July 1754.
- ¹¹ Utley, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 11.
- ¹² Malton QS, January 1758.
- ¹³ Thirsk QS, October 1764.
- ¹⁴ See www.btinternet.com/~haydn.scott/rivaulxvillage_1539-2003.pdf.
- ¹⁵ J. Weatherill (1962), Eighteenth-century Rievaulx Bridge and its Mediaeval Predecessor. Edited and revised by J. McDonnell. *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, p. 75.
- ¹⁶ See Haydn-Scott, op.cit.
- ¹⁷ See Weatherill, op.cit., p. 78.
- ¹⁸ Thirsk QS, 1755.
- ¹⁹ See list of Bridge Surveyors and County Surveyors 1681-1867, North Riding of Yorkshire, available from NYCRO, Northallerton.
- ²⁰ Malton QS, January 1758.
- ²¹ Utley, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 11.
- ²² Thirsk QS 1646.
- ²³ Utley, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 11.
- ²⁴ Northallerton QS, October 1760.
- ²⁵ Utley, op. cit., Vol. 2, Esk River section.
- ²⁶ Although the third edition of *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840* (1978, Ed. Howard Colvin) states that Shout Sr was Survey of Bridges in the North Riding east of the Hambleton Hills until 1765, the NYCRO records lead me to believe he continued in office until his death.
- ²⁷ Thirsk QS, April 1762.
- ²⁸ Utley, op. cit., Vol 2, Esk Section, pp 138-139.
- ²⁹ Northallerton QS, July 1727.
- ³⁰ Available at the North Yorkshire County Record Offices in Northallerton; his bridge plans may be viewed on a touch screen there.
- ³¹ Malton QS, January 1764.
- ³² Thirsk QS, July 1764.
- ³³ Thirsk QS, October 1764.
- ³⁴ Northallerton QS, January 1768.
- ³⁵ See Carr's *Yorkshire Bridge Book*, op. cit.

Menethorpe: Rediscovering a Lost Village

by Gill Cookson

The East Riding landscape is rich with remains of abandoned or shrunken settlements. Menethorpe, three miles south of Malton on the former boundary of East and North Ridings (SE 768 676), is one such, and it has (like many others, in the wake of Beresford and Hurst's influential work) tended to be categorized as a deserted medieval village.¹ Yet it takes only a brief scan of some obvious sources – the first edition of the Ordnance Survey, Westow tithe and census returns – to see that a village stood here through much of the nineteenth century.

Susan Neave's research on the contraction of East Riding villages between 1660 and 1760 revealed that many of those places assumed deserted in medieval times had in fact continued to function as settlements into the post-medieval period. Of the 'deserted medieval villages' classified by Beresford and Hurst, Neave discovered 30 in the East Riding where there were four or more households in the 1670s, including Menethorpe with 15. Most of the 30, including Sledmere, were in fact 'deserted' in the late-seventeenth or eighteenth centuries. Menethorpe appears to be the only example of a late nineteenth-century depopulation.²

Because there is no directly comparable case to Menethorpe, its story is all the more interesting. Unlike Sledmere, whose village, including farms, was cleared in about 1778–79, this is not an example of Georgian emparking. Menethorpe's contraction was more spectacular than that, also in the late nineteenth century, of Duggleby, six miles southeast of Malton in Kirby Grindalythe parish. In Duggleby, Thomas Ravis bought up a whole township in stages between 1854 and 1877, reducing the number of farms from five to four by 1871, and then to three by 1881. House numbers in Duggleby fell from 51 in 1851 to 43 in 1881, and the population went down from 294 to 238 in the same period, with a further fall to 165 by 1901. A population reduction on the Duggleby scale was not, though, particularly unusual in the rural East Riding of the later nineteenth century.³

Menethorpe is arguably a shrunken settlement, rather than a deserted village, for several remaining farmsteads and houses within the manor boundaries have been in continuous habitation. But Menethorpe in its historical sense, as a nucleated farming community, was effectively obliterated in c. 1872. Until then, its history had been one of remarkable, perhaps exceptional, continuity over at least the preceding 200 years and conceivably much longer. What, then, caused this late exodus of much of Menethorpe's population, and the virtual obliteration of the historic settlement?

The site of this long-enduring village is still plain to see, close to the eastern bank of the Derwent. Here, at the heart of the manor and township of Menethorpe, in the parish of Westow, two rows of crofts were set north and south of a green intersected by Menethorpe beck. Recently a survey of the manor, made in 1723 at the time the medieval open fields were enclosed, has re-emerged. This has prompted a new assessment of the village's history. The survey confirms not only the consistency of the village in terms of its physical shape and size, but also in its body of tenants, the families who farmed the manorial fields.⁴

Though stable, Menethorpe did not stagnate. A rising demand for foodstuffs in

Yorkshire's industrial towns drove agricultural and transport improvements around Malton, including the Derwent Navigation which was designed to convey produce to urban markets. In Menethorpe, enclosure and the introduction of more commercial farming practices followed close on the opening of the Navigation. Several new cottages were provided for incoming wage labourers. There was a small but steady increase in population, which peaked soon before 1850. Yet in other respects the manor remained curiously untouched by the region's social and economic transformation. Against such a history, the physical and social upheaval of c. 1872 was especially dramatic.

Agriculture and Enclosure

Even by the high standards of the Jurassic Hills, the soil of Menethorpe is of exceptional quality. It is suited to cereal production, especially wheat and barley, and also potatoes. Older field names recorded in the tithe apportionment of 1840–1 suggest other crops such as hops and hemp. Menethorpe's proportion of arable land was far higher even than in the neighbouring townships of Westow and Eddlethorpe. In Menethorpe in 1841, 412 acres were under cultivation, with 116 acres of land used as meadow or pasture, against just nine acres of woodland. The usual rotation was three- or four-course, 'summer fallow, wheat, oats or beans – clover being sometimes introduced after the wheat'.⁵

The survey of Menethorpe manor in 1723 taken by Joseph Dickinson for the lord, Francis Foljambe, shows an enclosure scheme about to be implemented, or recently completed. The medieval common arable lands had been partitioned into smaller fields and allocated to individual tenants in place of their previous strips in the open fields. This division pre-dated the main wave of parliamentary enclosure, which peaked in this part of Yorkshire in the later decades of the eighteenth century. With the manor largely in a single ownership, no Act of Parliament was required.⁶

Nearby townships were also enclosed relatively early. Burythorpe, to the east, had been divided during the mid-seventeenth century. Kennythorpe, east of Westow parish, underwent enclosure at the same time as Menethorpe, shortly before 1725. The enclosures of Kennythorpe and Menethorpe coincided with the completion in 1724 of the Derwent Navigation. With the river upstream to Malton navigable by vessels of 50 to 70 tons, agricultural produce could be exported to urban markets with relative ease. There were immediate benefits for landowners near the Derwent, who invested in enclosure and other improvements to increase yields.⁷

The Derwent Navigation Act of 1702 had been driven by the traders of Malton, backed by the whole of the local gentry and aristocracy. This numerous group, Foljambe among its numbers, formed a commission to oversee the scheme, and profited from considerable increases in the value of their estates as a result.⁸

Settlement

Dickinson's view of Menethorpe in 1723 could almost be a picture of the manor described in Domesday, and the pattern of settlement was probably very similar. Dickinson shows a rough two-row formation of single-storey cottages overlooking the green from north and south. Long and narrow crofts extend behind the dwellings towards

lanes giving access to communally farmed fields. Outbuildings and barns lie close to the settlement. At the upper end of the green stands the mill, its race rejoining the beck just below. Here also, approaching from the north, is the lane from Norton and Malton. Menethorpe beck cuts through a wide green, flowing into the Derwent just beyond the village. Most buildings stand on higher ground above the beck, reflecting a constant threat of flood in this steep-sided valley.⁹



Menethorpe village, detail from
Joseph Dickinson's survey of 1723.

Unlike many other places in northern England, Menethorpe held the same value, 40 shillings, before and after the Conquest, no doubt reflecting the quality of its farmland. At the time of Domesday, the land supported nine villagers and nine smallholders, with four ploughs altogether. The Norman lord, Berenger of Tosny, also had two ploughs there. Menethorpe's biggest asset was its mill, valued at 12 shillings.

Post-Conquest Menethorpe was half a league long and four furlongs wide, that is, one and a half miles by half a mile. The modern manor is an inverted L-shape, stretching one and a quarter miles at its maximum, north to south; east-west it is about one mile wide, north of the village, and about half a mile wide, south of the village. The tithe survey measured it as 537 acres, and nineteenth-century census returns give the township acreage as 582.

The carucate used to measure land in Domesday is reckoned as 120 acres, a year's work for an eight-oxen plough team, though this varied according to soil and topography. The Anglo-Saxon lord, Gamall, held six carucates, perhaps 720 acres, in Menethorpe, and six ploughs. Berenger's estate in the manor in 1086 was also of six carucates, and the King had a further two carucates in the tenure of Northman. Some of this land could have lain outside the present township boundary, perhaps in Scagglethorpe, east of Malton, where holdings attached to Menethorpe manor.

The village layout probably changed little from the early medieval period until 1872, except for the 1723 open field enclosure. Domesday listed 18 households in the manor, some of these perhaps situated on one of the detached holdings outside Menethorpe. The 15 households recorded in the 1670s closely match Dickinson's survey of 1723, and it is quite possible that they were continuations of crofts mentioned in Domesday. Dickinson lists 12 tenants and two freeholders (one of whom was also a tenant); the freeholders' share of land was tiny, with the manor overwhelmingly owned by its lord.¹⁰

From the late-seventeenth century until c. 1870, the lords of Menethorpe were the Foljambe family of Osberton in Nottinghamshire (afterwards enobled as earls of Liverpool). The Foljambes had knightly status in the Peak District during the thirteenth century, and accumulated estates in the north Midlands and southern parts of Yorkshire. It appears that Westow and Menethorpe, and a property in Huttons Ambo across the Derwent in the North Riding, came to them on the marriage in 1668 of Elizabeth Montaigne of Westow to Francis Foljambe of Aldwark (1643–1707). The eldest surviving son of this marriage was Francis Foljambe (1675–1752), who commissioned the 1723 survey and enclosure.¹¹

Families

Five tenants cultivated most of Menethorpe's land at the time of enclosure. Richard Lotherington, whose house was situated at the southeastern corner of the village, was allocated a block of fields southwest of the settlement, bounded by the Howlbeck (or Holbeck) and the Derwent. His neighbour, William Sollett, held land on the southeast side, mainly south of Menethorpe beck. Leonard Rivice had a house and barns at the western end of the village street, on either side of the green. Most of the land he was awarded was on the north, nearest the Derwent. John Halliday's house and croft were on the north side of the village street and green, and his land allocation was to the northeast,

in that part of the L-shape farthest from the centre of the settlement. Halliday's neighbour, the widow Nixon, farmed closer to the village, on the northeast side. She was presumably the relict of William Nixon, yeoman, who in 1716 had bought property in Welburn, on the North Riding side of the Derwent, for £47. The miller Richard Wilson was also a substantial tenant farmer, with about 20 acres adjoining his mill.¹²

This pattern of tenancy persisted for 150 years. Men called Lotherington, Nixon, Ravis and Sollett rented the same lands in 1841 that their forbears had in 1723, and those four families retained their dwellings and holdings into the 1870s: John Revis (farming 62 acres), George Nixon (75 acres), Richard Lotherington (114 acres) and Mary Sollitt (95 acres). The Wilsons continued as millers into the 1850s.¹³

The Halliday family was the exception. Though well-established – a John Halliday of Menethorpe (who died before 1661) was probably an ancestor of the 1723 tenant – the name Halliday disappeared from the village soon after enclosure. The first farmhouse constructed beyond the old settlement was on the land awarded to John Halliday in 1723, and was said to have been built in about 1754.¹⁴ It could be rather older, for the farm took the name Carthagera, after a battle fought in Colombia in 1741 during the War of Jenkins' Ear. A neighbouring farm, beyond Menethorpe's northern boundary in Welham, is called Portobello after a Panamanian port captured from Spain in 1739. The names suggest that a trend to build new farmsteads on outlying holdings hereabouts could date to the 1740s. After enclosure, there were good practical reasons for farmers whose fields were farthest from the village centre to build a house on their land.

Carthagera was for many decades home to a branch of the Ravis family. A marriage in Westow in 1708 between Leonard Revis and Maria Holliday hints at the possible explanation that Hallidays later died out in the male line and the tenancy passed to descendants of a female relative, perhaps Maria. If so, this is further confirmation of a striking continuity in the Menethorpe families.¹⁵

The hearth tax returns of 1672 suggest that the Menethorpe population was rather less settled during the half century before enclosure.¹⁶ Of the 15 household heads liable for hearth tax, only five shared a name with a tenant of 1723: Richard Lutherington, in a house with two hearths; Gabriel Lutherington; Nicholas Sellet; and William Mason and Henry Grainge, presumably ancestors of two lesser tenants of 1723. Also with two hearths were William Dickinson (conceivably a predecessor of Joseph Dickinson, surveyor in 1723 – though this is pure speculation) and Richard Hall. Hall is not a name recorded in 1723, though as there was certainly a John Halliday of Menethorpe before 1661, it is not impossible that Hall is a shortened form of Halliday. Of Revis, though, there is no sign in 1672, and Nixon, present in Menethorpe by 1716, does not figure in the local hearth tax. Evidently a proportion of the families, whose endurance over the century and a half from 1723 is such a noteworthy feature of Menethorpe's history, arrived in the manor after the Foljambe family had become lords.

Other trades

Various ancillary trades and small industries developed alongside agriculture, and were further encouraged by the new Derwent Navigation. Boats which shipped out corn and other produce came laden with coal from south Yorkshire and lime to fertilise the land.

Once coal was easily available, lime could be produced locally. By the 1850s three lime kilns were at work on the edge of Menethorpe village and a fourth close to a limestone quarry beyond Carthagera. A small sandstone quarry lay on the fringe of the village. A ready supply of coal, in this place so bare of woodland, transformed domestic life too, heating homes and fuelling activities such as baking and brewing.¹⁷

A ferry had crossed the Derwent from a point near the bottom of the village street, where one of Leonard Rivice's fields in 1723 was named Boat Close. With the navigation, and a new towpath through Laysike wood bringing some passing trade to Menethorpe, Laysike formed a new hub of activity with a wharf, coal depot and ferry mooring. Here another new house was built away from the village centre. The 1841 census shows Thomas Wilson of Laysike as ferryman, wheelwright and coal merchant. Laysike was demolished in the mid-1960s, its last occupant a cooper.¹⁸

The additional sources of income available to farmers and labourers, and the increasingly cash economy which developed after enclosure, meant that the manor could support more people. Menethorpe's population reached its high point between 1811 and 1841, at around 120 to 130 inhabitants. The tithe map of 1840–41 therefore illustrates a community in its heyday. Most inhabitants still worked the land to a degree, at the very least growing food in their garth and keeping a pig or two, although some found additional employment outside agriculture. George Nixon, one of the larger farmers, was noted as surveyor of highways in 1823. A public house and a beerhouse helped supplement small-scale farming for two other households. Matthew Snowball farmed 10 acres and kept the Grey Horse, which closed on his death in c. 1850. The beerhouse was run by Thomas Robson on an enclosure in the centre of the village green in 1841. During the 1850s and 1860s Robson ran the Plough, on the northern row of the village. Menethorpe also had a blacksmith, dressmaker, carter and a stonemason, probably employed in Lotherington's sandstone quarry.¹⁹

Buildings and the Village Plan

In Dickinson bird's eye view of 1723, the only known image of Menethorpe village, dwellings appear as single-storey longhouses. Although the farmers were tenants, several became well-to-do, buying property in other townships. They also improved and extended their Menethorpe houses during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, rebuilding on the same sites. So as ever, with the exceptions of Carthagera and Laysike House, settlement clustered in the centre.²⁰

There were 10 farmsteads in the village through the nineteenth century, until 1872, more or less the same number as in 1723. The largest farms were of 60 to 120 acres, though individual landholdings fluctuated in size over the generations. Menethorpe's growth was modest, limited to a few small additional farm labourers' cottages, probably single storey and very basic. Two short rows were added sometime after 1723 and before 1840–41, altogether about eight cottages. The rows were placed on either side of the green, a small interruption to the ages-old village plan. One or two other small houses and enclosures appeared on the central waste close to the beck, in a pattern commonly found in villages with greens.²¹ In 1861, the census enumerator's return distinguished between farmhouses (there were 10, not counting Carthagera and Laysike) and cottages, numbering 16.²²

The Domesday cornmill most likely occupied the same site as its successors, and would have been rebuilt several times over the centuries. The last mill, still water-driven, stood at least three stories high, its machinery contained on the second floor. Between 1723 and 1841 the mill race was considerably refined and extended. The miller's house was large, standing adjacent to the mill, and survived the village's demise. The miller farmed between about 20 and 32 acres nearby.²³

The last of the Wilson family, millers in 1723, left Menethorpe during the 1850s. Their successor, William Ward, formerly of Bielby in the East Riding, came to a grisly end in 1860, dragged by his coat into the mill machinery, 'drawn round and round by the shaft, his head at every revolution coming in contact with a large grindstone'. Afterwards, George Ward, born in Barton-le-Willows near York, took over the mill. Menethorpe mill is last heard of in 1872, and was evidently demolished at the same time as many of the village houses.²⁴

One other building surviving the clearance was the schoolhouse on the south side of the green. When Francis John Savile Foljambe granted this property in 1872 to the parish of Westow, a covenant suggested that it was then in use as a school for Menethorpe children of the poorer classes, though it had certainly ceased to be a school by 1904. Evidence of any school in Menethorpe is scant, although Westow did have a National School. On the tithe map of 1841, the school property and its surroundings show only as a farm.²⁵

The Last years of Menethorpe Village

After the death of George Savile Foljambe in 1869, Menethorpe was sold. Two centuries of Foljambe ownership had seen exceptional constancy in the body of tenants and physical structure of the manor, the largest upheaval having been enclosure of the open fields in 1723. The status quo was quickly overturned under the new owner of the property (though not, seemingly, of the lordship), H.R. Phillips.

When Phillips bought Menethorpe, it had already contracted, though slightly. There were 102 people and 27 houses in 1871. During the 1850s, there had been growth: 25 inhabited houses increasing to 29, and population rising from 110 to 124. The village of the 1860s was still 'a busy little agricultural centre' with 'a goodly number of small farmers'. In 1871 only one or two fewer houses and cottages were inhabited, than in 1861. The population, though, fell away more steeply, from 124 to 102 during the decade.²⁶

Here may be a clue to Menethorpe's fate in that almost a fifth of inhabitants were lost during the 1860s. As the number of farms and farmers stayed constant, many of those leaving must have been day labourers. The loss of these workers was significant as farming methods remained antiquated, heavily dependent upon hand labour. This was a period of labour troubles in agriculture, when farm workers formed a national union in protest at low pay and bad conditions. Around Malton, agricultural labourers received a weekly wage of 18 shillings for a 71-hour week, and even so could not support a family without keeping a cottage garden and pig to help make ends meet.²⁷

Whether these developments influenced Phillips' actions is not known. It is certain, however, that the whole body of tenant farmers, those with ancestral connections

stretching back over centuries, left Menethorpe. Judging by what followed, his plan for the manor's transformation required that the tenants be evicted. The last record of Sollitts and Lotheringtons in their old family properties is found in 1872, as is the final mention of Menethorpe mill. The village, as a farming community organized around 10 or so farmsteads, was lost at this time.

The 65 inhabitants of Menethorpe in 1881 were almost entirely newcomers. The agricultural model developed by Phillips was of two large farms with live-in servants managed by resident bailiffs. He employed Thomas Cole at 'Menethorpe House' (not certainly identified, but most probably the mill house) and Thomas Moody, a sheep farmer installed as tenant of Carthagenia. Beck Houses, a terrace of four cottages, was built upstream of the mill site. Other than these and Laysike, the village contained just six inhabited houses in 1881. Most of the old farmhouses and cottages in the village centre were destroyed in, or soon after, 1872.²⁸

Phillips owned Menethorpe only into the 1880s. The manor was then divided into two estates, north and south of the village green, and sold on. The southern section was bought by Thomas Preston Esq. of Norton, a relative of the Ravis family through his sister Mary (d. 1852), wife of Thomas William Ravis Esq. Preston also owned much of Burythorpe and other neighbouring properties. This whole estate was inherited by John Harrison Preston before the century's end.

Major Henry Francis Dent, purchaser of the northern part of Menethorpe manor, was a retired officer of the Dent family of Ribston Hall, Knaresborough. The major's interests were sporting rather than agricultural, and the village site on his side of the manor was absorbed into parkland for Menethorpe Hall, built in c. 1888. Dent employed a bailiff to supervise the remaining farmland.²⁹ The Menethorpe Hall estate was later sold to the Lockwood family and then to George Mitchell Morrell. After requisition for Army use during the Second World War, in 1947 it was bought from Morrell by Sir William Brooksbank, father of the present owner.³⁰

What, though, of the displaced Menethorpe tenant farmers? Of about 80 inhabitants leaving the village soon after 1871, several can be traced in the following the census of 1881.³¹ From the longer-standing Menethorpe families, the brothers James and Christopher Sollitt had established themselves as farmers in Sicklinghall, near Wetherby, doubling their holding to 197 acres. George Nixon, farmer of 75 acres in Menethorpe, moved to Laytham north of Goole, where he was employed as a farmer's hind, the foreman or bailiff on a farm. Richard Lotherington had retired with his household to a suburban address in Falsgrave, Scarborough; Leonard Ravis also retired, to Low Kennels, in nearby Eddlethorpe, along with George Waite, one of the smallholders. John Potter, another small farmer, was evidently unemployed in 1881, living near Batley, his wife's occupation as laundress an indication of their poor circumstances. Mary Snowball, daughter from another of the small Menethorpe farms, found work as a housekeeper at Glebe Farm, North Grimston. Two of the Menethorpe agricultural workers had settled close by, Christopher Cooper as a labourer in Settrington, and William Wood as a living-in shepherd at Portobello Farm.

The sample is too small to form much of a generalisation, except to say that the new positions of dispersed village residents largely reflect their former rank within Menethorpe. Almost certainly, the tenants were compelled to quit their ancestral village,

and change when it came was brutal and dramatic. Yet perhaps the only real surprise is that it had been so long in coming.

Table 1. Menethorpe: Population, Houses and Occupations 1801 to 1891.
Source: Census of Population 1801–1891.

	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891
Population	104	104	120	126	129	110	124	102	65	64
Inhabited houses					24	25	29	27	13	15
Occupations										
Farmer					10	10	10	10	3*	3**
Agricultural labourers, etc.					14	19	21	20	14	10***
Animal husbandry						1	2		2	3

* Comprising two farm bailiffs for Mr Phillips, and one farmer of 11 acres.

** At Carthagenia and Mill Farm, and one 'small farmer' living at Beck Houses.

*** Including the farmer's son and two farm servants living in at Carthagenia, and four farm servants living in at Mill Farm.

Acknowledgements

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Notes

¹ M. W. Beresford (1954), *The Lost Villages of England*. New York: Philosophical Library; M. W. Beresford and J. G. Hurst (Eds) (1971), *Deserted Medieval Villages: Studies*. Woking: Lutterworth.

² S. Neave (1990), Rural Settlement Contraction in the East Riding of Yorkshire, c. 1660-1760. University of Hull: Unpublished PhD thesis; Rural Settlement Contraction in the East Riding of Yorkshire between the Mid-seventeenth and Mid-eighteenth Centuries (1993), *Agricultural History Rev.* 41, 2, 124-36. Elmsewell, near Driffeld, is another exception, having disappeared in the twentieth century: inf. D. Neave.

³ Inf. D. Neave; D. Neave and S. Neave (Eds) (2008), *Victoria County History of the County of York East Riding*, VIII. Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer.

⁴ Joseph Dickinson's survey of Menethorpe in 1723 is in the possession of Nicholas Brooksbank of Menethorpe Hall, who commissioned additional research.

⁵ F. Francis and J. Smithson (n.d.), *A History of Burythorpe, A Yorkshire Village*, pp. 45, 47, 49; A. Carter, Howardian Hills Mapping Project (1995). English Heritage unpub. survey report, p. 7; Borthwick Institute, York, TA 319 M, tithe map and apportionment, parish of Westow, 1840-1; A. Harris and R. Kain (1996), Agricultural Land Use in the Mid-Nineteenth Century in S. Neave and S. Ellis (Eds) (1996), *An Historical Atlas of East Yorkshire*. Hull: Hull University Press, pp. 70-1, citing TNA, IR18 11669.

⁶ J. Chapman, Parliamentary Enclosure in R. A. Butlin (Ed) (2004), *Historical Atlas of North Yorkshire*. Otley: Westbury Publishing, p. 156.

⁷ Francis and Smithson, op. cit., p. 45.

⁸ W. Sheils (2004), Communications in Butlin, op. cit., p. 127; N. A. Hudleston (1962), *History of Malton and Norton*. Scarborough, G.A. Pindar & Son, pp. 138-41.

⁹ M. L. Faull and M. Stinson (1986), *Domesday Book: Yorkshire*.

- ¹⁰ Dickinson's survey, 1723; Borthwick Inst., TA 319 M.
- ¹¹ Nottinghamshire Archives, 157 DD/FJ; W. Page (1923), *Victoria County History of the County of York North Riding*, II. London: St Catherine Press, pp. 150-4.
- ¹² Dickinson's survey, 1723; East Riding of Yorks. Archives, DDX 690/1-2.
- ¹³ Borthwick Inst., TA 319 M; 1871 and 1881 census returns.
- ¹⁴ Francis and Smithson, op. cit., p. 45.
- ¹⁵ Notts. Archives, DD/FJ/4/29/17; Francis and Smithson, op. cit., p. 45; Borthwick Inst., Westow parish register (note that, unusually, census enumerators' returns for 1801 and 1811 have survived and are kept with the parish register); thanks to Emma Brooksbank for the suggestion about Portobello.
- ¹⁶ TNA, E179/205/504. Thanks to David and Susan Neave for the transcript.
- ¹⁷ Ordnance Survey 6" 124 & 142 (1855); Borthwick Inst., TA 319 M.
- ¹⁸ White's *Dir. E. and N. Ridings* (1840), p. 356; inf. Emma Brooksbank.
- ¹⁹ Baines (1823) *Dir. Co. York*, ii, p. 369; White's (1840) *Dir. E. and N. Ridings*, p. 356; W. Page (Ed.) (1913), *Victoria County History of the County of York*, III, London: Constable & Co., p. 488; 1841-71 census returns.
- ²⁰ Francis and Smithson, op. cit., p. 45.
- ²¹ B. K. Roberts (1977), *The Green Villages of Co. Durham*. Durham: Durham County Council, p. 27, figs. 9 and 10.
- ²² 1871 census returns; inf. Nicholas Brooksbank, from Menethorpe Hall deeds.
- ²³ K. J. Allison (1970), *East Riding Watermills*. York: East Yorkshire Local History Society, p. 28; *Malton Gazette*, 29 Dec. 1860; Borthwick Inst., TA 319 M; 1871 census returns.
- ²⁴ *Malton Gazette*, 29 Dec. 1860; inf. Emma Brooksbank; 1841-71 census returns; Allison, op. cit., p. 28.
- ²⁵ Inf. Nicholas Brooksbank, from Menethorpe Hall deeds; J. Addy and R. Wolfe, National Schools, 1846-7 in Butlin, op. cit., p. 140; 1841 census returns.
- ²⁶ Inf. Nicholas Brooksbank, from Menethorpe Hall deeds; Francis and Smithson, op. cit., pp. 47-8; 1861 and 1871 census returns; Bulmer's *History and Dir. of East Yorkshire* (1892).
- ²⁷ Francis and Smithson, op. cit., pp. 47-8.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 83; 1871 and 1881 census returns.
- ²⁹ Kelly's (1889) *Dir. N. and E. Riding*, pp. 469-71; Francis and Smithson, op. cit., pp. 47-8, 53; Bulmer's (1892) *History and Dir. of East Yorkshire*; Kelly's (1937), *Dir.*, p. 436.
- ³⁰ Kelly's (1937), *Dir.*, p. 544; Francis and Smithson, op. cit., pp. 53, 83; inf. Nicholas and Emma Brooksbank.
- ³¹ I am extremely grateful to David Neave for his efforts searching the 1881 census of Yorkshire.

Anglo-Saxon Assembly Places in Ryedale

by Madge Allison

Some of the more intriguing and rare place-names in our landscape are those that suggest or refer to the Anglo-Saxon ‘folk-moot’ or Hundred court, a place of public assembly. They are names that contain the place-name elements which refer to speech, such as ‘spell’ (Old English, hereafter abbreviated as OE)¹ in Spellgate and ‘maedel’ (OE), as in Malton, or to assembly places such as ‘mot’ (OE), meeting-place, or the wapentake name for ancient Ryedale, ‘Maneshou’.² These names may indicate meeting places where the Anglo-Saxons came together in popular assembly, the antecedents of our present day councils and courts. Where might these ‘folk moots’ have been in Ryedale?

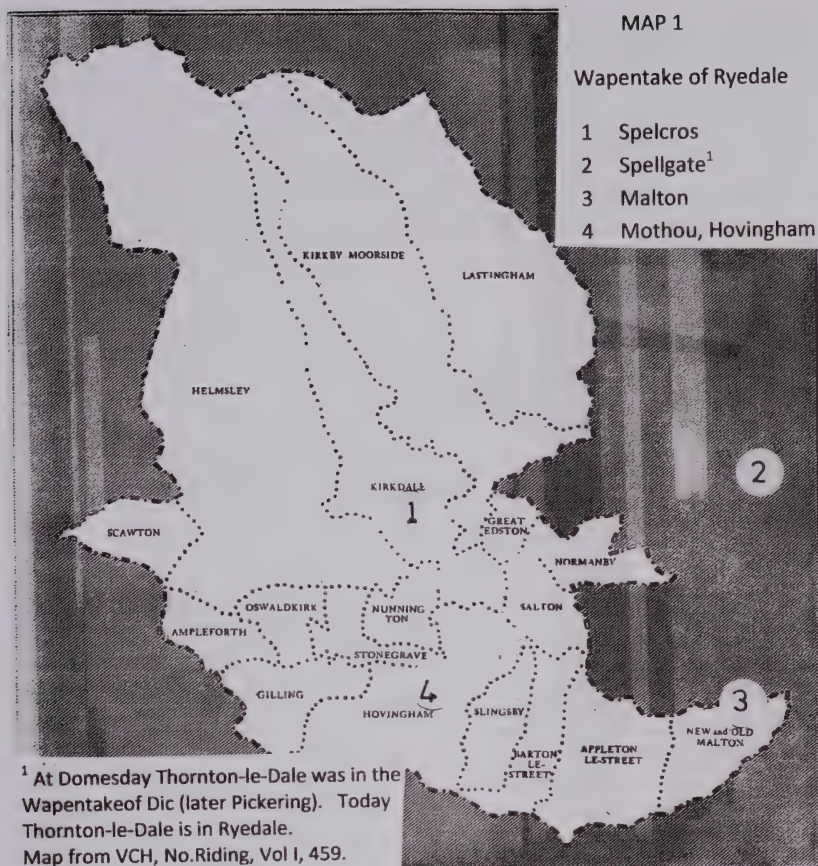
The Hundred Court

The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* describes the Hundred as an Anglo-Saxon territorial division, probably about equal in area to a local district council. In Yorkshire such divisions were known as wapentakes. The wapentake of Ryedale extended from the River Seven on the east to Helmsley on the west and to Malton and Hovingham on the south (see Map 1). F. Stenton³ refers to the Old English Hundred Court. It was a court that administered customary law, did justice on thieves, and was involved in public finance. It had ‘all the features of an ancient popular assembly. It met in the open air and at regular interval ...’ D. Whitelock⁴ describes the earliest Anglo-Saxon meetings as a folk-moot, meaning a meeting of the people, which was then succeeded by the later development of the hundred court. She writes ‘The meeting took place in the open, often at some prominent landmark’, and she gives examples such as at a barrow, tree or stone. The meeting place is sometimes defined by its principal activity, i.e., ‘hill of speech’, for example Spellow in Norfolk or Spelhoe in Northamptonshire.

Closer to home there is a Spellow Farm in Elmswell in the East Riding. This example is interesting because it lies near the line of a Roman road and about one and a half miles from the ancient church of Little Driffield with its royal Anglo-Saxon burial. A clue to a more precise location of this folk moot may lie in the field-name of Spellow Flat at Spellow Farm.⁵ Spellow Flat is a long sloping south-facing field.

Ryedale

In Ryedale there are several names which hint at possible Anglo-Saxon meeting places. Two of these names include the ‘spell’ element, one the ‘maedel’ element, and some others have obscure suggestive names. The fact that there were several assembly places in Ryedale suggests that they were not held in only one location. It may be that some were more important than others. Some of the place-name elements are ones that occur early in the Anglo-Saxon period, such as ‘maedel’ in Malton and the ‘mot’ site in Hovingham, suggesting that these were the earliest assembly places, while the ‘spell’ names may occur later in the Anglo-Saxon period.⁶



Map 1: Wapentake of Ryedale. Source: *Victoria County History: North Riding*, Vol. 1.

‘Spell’ Names

Spelcros

The first of the ‘spell’ names occurs in Spelcros (var. Spelcrosse). The name Spelcros appears in a charter of a land grant to Rievaulx Abbey c. 1142–52: ‘... et ad Spelcros xii percatas in latum’ (... and at Spelcros 12 perches in breadth). This early charter is describing land grants to Rievaulx Abbey and relate to Welburn Grange in the area of Welburn/Skiplam/Wombleton. J. Atkinson, the editor of *Rievaulx Charters*, suggests that ‘Spelcros may possibly have stood where Stony Cross now stands.’⁷ R.H. Hayes concurs with this view and refers back to I. Cooper⁸ when he writes that ‘Stonycross near Wombleton road junction with A170 maybe Spelcros mentioned in 1145 A.D.’⁹ Today only a cross-base survives, at OS 668 848. The significance of the location of the cross can be seen by looking at Map 2, which shows the cross as a meeting point of crossroads

and footpaths/bridlepaths, suggesting an important place in its earlier history. The cross stood in an elevated position overlooking the vale to the south.



Map 2: Wombleton/Kirkdale/Welburn. Source: 1914 Ordnance Survey.

There are local stories associated with the cross, and as is so often the case, these legends can become intertwined. The fierce local pagan ruler Black Pig built his 'howe' (burial mound) on the site of the cross and was buried there at Creaking Howe. The Anglo-Saxon church of Kirkdale is about three-quarters mile away. There is a local legend about the building of the church.¹⁰ A Christian priest Ethelwald tried to build a church at Stony Cross. However, the stones were removed each night to the bottom of the dale at Kirkdale and so eventually Ethelwald abandoned the haunted site at the crossroads and built the Anglo-Saxon church at Kirkdale.

Although Creaking Howe has not been precisely identified it may be that Spelcros marks its location. Spelcros is on a rising piece of ground that could have been artificially

raised, and so possibly be a burial mound. If it is a burial mound this could explain the legend of the attempt to build a church there. The Church in its early conversion period chose important pre-Christian sites, such as burial mounds, as places to build its churches. It is intriguing to consider why the location was then changed to Kirkdale. Did the Kirkdale site have greater significance in its location next to the Hodge Beck, originally called Rydover, var. Redofram (from the Celtic, 'dark')? The water of the Rydover had the phenomenal ability to rise and dry up seasonally, a quality giving it a strong spiritual import in Celtic times, and so the Kirkdale site may have taken precedence over a pagan burial site.

J. Blair comments on the 'rarity of place-names indicating the holding of assemblies at crosses.'¹¹ It would seem, then, that a popular assembly taking place at a cross is uncommon and so a further layer of interest is added to the ancient Spelcros.

In summary, Spelcros is a rare place-name and is sited at a significant location of crossroads and footpaths. It stands in an elevated position and incorporates the Black Pig legend. These are the ingredients of one of Ryedale's most intriguing landmarks.

Spellgate

The second of the 'spell' names occurs in Spellgate (var. Spelgate). The name Spellgate appears in a survey of 1685 which describes the town fields in Thornton-le-Dale.¹² Although Thornton-le-Dale was originally in Pickering wapentake, I have included it because it is now in Ryedale. The survey entry reads that in the West High Field there are: 'In Spellgate Lands 28 oxgang fall 14 broadlands, on the South Pickering Highway, on the East Mr. Robinson, on the West Ralf Kay, on the North they go over Brickendale Way about 50 yards north of the Wall to the stinting of Hollintree Lands.' The name Spellgate also appears in a deed of 1673 when S. Robinson sold to John Hill:¹³ 'one rood in Spelgate from Roxby Lane to the gate called Stiffegate in Langlands extending from headland to headland' (elsewhere Roxby Lane is described as lying north of Pickering Road).¹⁴

Spellgate is thus located to the west of Thornton-le-Dale and north of the A170. One may speculate that its exact location is at OS 825 833, based on the progression of the 1685 Survey in the West High Field; after the survey mentions Spellgate, it proceeds west to Batter Scambles and then further west to Swinecroft Hill (see Map 3). The map shows a footpath going through Spellgate which is probably Brickendale Way ('path on a slope') and the map also shows, to the north of Spellgate, the field close of Hollan Trees. The field close conjectured to be Spellgate is today old pasture with some rigg and furrow at the north end. The field close is a natural bowl, open but sheltered and south facing, and gives a magnificent view over the Vale of Pickering. It would make a fine place of assembly. It is sited on route ways, with the pre-historic A170 as its southern boundary and Greendale Lane as its northern boundary, and with the footpath Brickendale Way running through its middle.

Much of the above can only be conjecture; nevertheless, the name Spellgate and the area in which it lies are well worth further exploration.

Old Malton



Map 4: Malton. Source: 1914 Ordnance Survey.

Malton is the other principal place-name in the area that probably derives from a place of speech or public assembly. Smith¹⁷ gives the meaning of Malton as OE *maedel* ('speech', especially of formal speech in council). The Malton I write of here is the Malton of Anglo-Saxon times, which is today's Old Malton, and not the present day town of Malton, a later development and long known as New Malton, *c.* thirteenth century.

A starting point is the Church of St. Mary's Priory in Old Malton (see Map 4). The present day church is a Norman foundation of the Gilbertine Order. However, the Domesday Book records that there were a church and mill in Old Malton in 1086. Pieces

of two Anglo-Scandinavian cross shafts can be seen displayed in the church, dated by J. Lang¹⁸ to the late- ninth and early-tenth centuries. I am grateful to Lorna Watts¹⁹ for the following note from Richard Morris' 2005 Lastingham Church lecture: 'The Orans figure at Old Malton Priory implies an important mid-Saxon centre.' The Old Malton Orans is a stone figure praying with uplifted arms, an early Church symbol. The Church of St. Mary's was the parish church for both Old Malton and New Malton until 1855. John Rushton²⁰ says that there were at least three manors at Old Malton in the pre-Conquest period. Thus the parish church, mill and three manors identify Old Malton as a significant local centre in Anglo-Scandinavian times.

Earlier in Roman times there was an important Roman fort (Derventio, OS 722718) located just outside the borough wall of Malton on the south border of Old Malton. As noted by J. Blair above, it was just this kind of Roman site with the status and power that it brought that would be associated with a hundredal place of assembly. We do not know the exact location of this place of assembly. How appropriate, however, that the modern place of public assembly, Ryedale District Council offices, should be located just up the street from the Roman fort. These modern offices are not likely to be far from the original Malton folk moot, serving a similar purpose as judicial, financial and administrative centre.

Hovingham

The village of Hovingham has two early field-names suggestive of a meeting place. The first field-name is Speules and it occurs in a charter of a land grant from Nigel de Mowbray to Byland Abbey, dated c. 1186–90, of '... 5 acres of land in territory of Hovingham called Speules.'²¹ I include this puzzling word as possibly suggestive of a form of spell. I have not been able to find any further trace of the twelfth-century Speules that Mowbray granted to Byland Abbey in Hovingham. It is not mentioned under Byland Abbey's lands at the Dissolution.²²

The second field-name is Mothow and it occurs in an early fourteenth-century deed concerning '... one acre (var. 1 selion) at Mothow [meeting place on a hill or by a burial mound] between R. Rabot and David' (see Map 5).²³

In the medieval period (c. 1298), there is a Hallemote in Hovingham, e.g. Yorkshire Inq. 26 Edw1, '... In Hovingham ... the Manor and a court called Hallemote, held of the King ...'

Hovingham is an Anglo-Saxon village. Its place-name may mean either 'the people of the village of Hof' (personal name) or 'the people of the village of the temple/shrine'.²⁴ Hovingham would have been a significant place in Roman times for several reasons. It was located on the Roman road, the 'Street', leading from Malton's Roman fort to points west, including fine limestone quarries in Hovingham. Located in Hovingham just to the west of Hovingham Hall was an important Roman villa with its tessellated pavement and bath.



Map 5: Hovingham. Source: 1914 Ordnance Survey.

About three-quarters of a mile away from the Roman villa is a spa which may have given the village its name. Eastmead, writing in 1824, says that there were ‘three several springs of totally dissimilar character. The first, sulphureous, resembling the waters of Harrogate;- the second, chalybeate, similar to those of Scarbro’;- the third, beautifully clear spring water.’²⁵ It is highly likely that these springs would have made Hovingham a holy place and perhaps a temple site. Even in the drought year of the summer of 2010 the main pond was full of water and bubbling, a large natural spring akin to Keld Head in Pickering. (The measure of the drought in our area in 2010 is that the pond at Spaunton dried up. R.H. Hayes had never known it to dry up even in the hot summer of 1976, when the geologist Professor J. Hemingway speculated that it must have a profound water source.) Was the Hovingham spring significant in Celtic/Romano-British times and did its importance continue into Roman times? In the nineteenth century an attempt was made to develop it as Hovingham Spa.

Professor Ian Wood proposes an interesting hypothesis about Hovingham. He suggests that Hovingham with its Roman villa, along the ‘Street’ from the military centre Derventio at Malton, was the site of the official residence of the military commander. The place-name ‘hof’ could be a temple or court, implying a royal place. Thus Hovingham was first the villa centre of the head of Roman Malton and continued as administrative centre of the Anglo-Saxon Kingdom of Deira. Wood sees Hovingham as King Athelwold’s (c .651–655 AD) royal place. He points out that Hovingham Church possesses ‘one of the finest pieces of Anglo-Saxon sculpture in existence, suggesting it

was the place of a monastery, and a rich and sophisticated one at that.’²⁶ Today Hovingham continues as a great estate, the seat of Sir Marcus Worsley, with its important political and social connections.

A possible location for the Mothow may be Moody Hill, mentioned on the 1756 Enclosure Award.²⁷ Both the Mothow and the eighteenth-century Moody Hill Flat were arable areas in the open field.²⁸ Moody Hill is located along the Roman road leading into Hovingham (see Map 5). In Moody Hill there is a tumulus (OS 673 758) along the roadside, which may be the Mothow. The otherwise straight Roman road bends round the tumulus, implying that the tumulus is earlier than the Roman road. Moody Hill lies next to the township boundary of Wath.

Maneshou

Finally, there is one other name in our area that means a folk-moot or place of assembly. It is the wapentake name of Maneshou (Domesday, 1086) which is the ancient name for the modern district of Ryedale. Smith²⁹ gives its meaning as: “‘Man’s mound”, haugr. The meeting place was a hill or a tumulus which cannot now be identified.’

Summary

So far the sites of these early places of assembly or folk-moots have proved difficult to locate on the ground. It seems interesting that none of the examples of possible places of assembly – Malton, Spellgate, Spellcross and Mothow – now seem to be located in town or village centres, although they were all close to the local centres of Malton, Pickering, Kirkbymoorside and Hovingham. They do seem to be sited in areas that had important local significance, such as near a Roman site, or a cross, or a burial mound. They are all in areas with commanding positions and splendid views. It is hoped that more may be found out in the future, perhaps through the discovery of early records or through a thorough study of field-names or through archaeological exploration, and that new light will be thrown on this ancient institution that is the democratic foundation of our own local system of government and justice.

Notes

¹ A. Mawer (Ed.) (1924), *Chief Elements used in English Place-names*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 54.

² A.H. Smith (1928), *Place-Names of the North Riding of Yorkshire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 42-3.

³ F.M. Stenton (1947), *Anglo-Saxon England*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, pp. 295-6.

⁴ D. Whitelock (1956), *Beginnings of English Society*. Middlesex: Penguin Books, p. 138.

⁵ H. Best (1642), *Farming and Memorandum Books*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (2006), pp. 211, 218.

⁶ A. Pantos and S. Semple (2004), *Assembly Places and Practices in Medieval Europe*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, pp. 192-197.

⁷ J.C. Atkinson (Ed.) (1889), *Rievaulx Chartulary*, Surtees Soc., vol. 83. Leeds, pp. 41, 285.

⁸ I. Cooper (1887), *Helmsley 100 Years Ago*. York, p. 19.

⁹ R.H. Hayes (1988), *Old Roads and Pannierways in Northeast Yorkshire*. Helmsley: North York Moors National Park, p. 54.

- ¹⁰ R.W. Crosland (1947), *Yorkshire Treasure*. York: Yorkshire Gazette, pp. 76-77.
- ¹¹ J. Blair (2005), *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, fn 778, quoting A. Pantos, Assembly-Places in the Anglo-Saxon period, 2002, unpublished Oxford University thesis, p. 487.
- ¹² B. Harrison (1978), WEA class. The 1685 Survey is in the Thornton-le-Dale Parish documents deposited in the Borthwick Institute, York.
- ¹³ R.W. Jeffrey (1931), *Thornton-le-Dale*. Wakefield: West Yorkshire Printing Co, p. 241.
- ¹⁴ B. Harrison, op. cit., from the 1685 Survey.
- ¹⁵ John Rushton, personal comment. Mr. Rushton is a WEA and Hull University lecturer and author. See his recent work, *History of Ryedale* (2003). Dr. John Kirk, FSA, 1869-1940, was a Pickering local doctor and antiquarian/archaeologist. His collection led to the founding of Castle Museum, York.
- ¹⁶ J. Blair, op. cit., p. 475, and A. Pantos and S. Semple, op.cit., pp. 96-104.
- ¹⁷ Smith, op. cit., p. 43.
- ¹⁸ J. Lang (1991), *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Sculpture*, Vol. 3. Oxford: British Academy, pp. 196-7.
- ¹⁹ Lorna Watts, FSA, archaeologist, personal comment.
- ²⁰ John Rushton, personal comment.
- ²¹ D.E. Greenway (Ed.) (1972), *Charters of Honour of Mowbray*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 56-57.
- ²² J. Burton (1758), *Monasticon Eboracense*, pp. 329-338.
- ²³ Yorkshire Archaeological Series, *Deeds 7*. Leeds, pp. 131-2.
- ²⁴ Smith, op. cit., p. 51.
- ²⁵ Rev. W. Eastmead (1824), *Historia Rievallensis*. London, p. 209.
- ²⁶ Professor Ian Wood, University of Leeds, from his Lastingham Lecture, 2008.
- ²⁷ Worsley of Hovingham Archive, ZON, NYCRO, Northallerton.
- ²⁸ The change of the letter 't' to 'd', as from moot to mood, can be seen in other similar instances, e.g. the German 'gut' to the English 'good' or the Italian verbs 'ato' to Spanish verbs 'ado' and in the pronunciation of the English 'thirty' to the American 'thirty.'
- ²⁹ Smith, op. cit., p. 42.

Thomas Kendall of Pickering: Barrow Opener and Collector

by T.G. Manby

An account of the Lockton Early Bronze Age dagger, its background in the mid-nineteenth century barrow diggings of Thomas Mitchelson Kendall and its subsequent preservation in the Mitchelson family museum in Pickering has been outlined previously.¹ It was hoped that article would stimulate further historical research into Kendall's archaeological diggings and collecting activities and encourage a search for further contemporary published and surviving archive material relating to Thomas Kendall's antiquarian activities. Also it was hoped that more would be traced about the history and contents of the Mitchelson family museum in Pickering.

Of the family history aspect of Thomas Mitchelson Kendall, Dr H.M. Bamford of Norwich kindly followed up, through the genealogical indexes, on his basic life dates. Thomas Mitchelson Kendall, son of Thomas Kendall and Ann Kendall, of East Ness, was christened at Hovingham on 15 October 1804; and his death aged 78 was registered in Pickering in the third quarter of 1883. His son, also Thomas Mitchelson Kendall, was born in 1840 and predeceased him; his death at the age of 39 was registered in Pickering in the first quarter of 1880.

To avoid confusion between the two Thomas Mitchelson Kendalls, the senior one will in this note be referred to as Thomas Kendall, as he was generally known in contemporary literature. That it was Thomas Kendall's daughter, Mary, who had married a George Hudson, who was to gift her father's collection of archaeological finds housed at Low Hall to the museum being set up by her cousin Thomas Mitchelson,² is explained by the previous death of the younger Thomas Mitchelson Kendall in 1880.

In collecting ancient artefacts and by 'opening' barrows to recover burials and associated objects such as pottery, Thomas Kendall was following an intellectual pursuit taken up by many of the landed gentry, a by-product of both the Romantic movement and the agricultural revolution of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.³ The great expansion of cultivation produced a harvest of ancient flint and stone artefacts and there was much levelling of the many round barrow mounds that were a feature of the English landscape. In Yorkshire geological and antiquarian collecting and investigation developed strongly in the post-Napoleonic war decades of the first half of the nineteenth century.⁴ The central-pit method of barrow opening was favoured through the middle decades of nineteenth century and has left a visual legacy of cratered central areas of the remaining burial mounds on the North York Moors. Locally, one of the earliest recorded investigations into a burial mound took place on 21 August 1817, close to Cawthorn Camps, by a T. Mitchelson.⁵ This would certainly have been Thomas Kendall's maternal uncle, Thomas Mitchelson (1771–1860); possibly the uncle's activities inspired his nephew later to take up antiquarian interests.

It is uncertain when Thomas Kendall became established in Pickering. He was resident at The Hall by 1834 according to Pigot & Co.'s *National Commercial Directory*.⁶ He married Mary Emily Anne Adams (b. 1818) at Castleford in 1839, and White's 1840 *Yorkshire East and North Ridings Directory* gives his residence as The Hall, Burgate, Pickering. During the 1840s Thomas Kendall sought to acquire flint and stone artefacts by purchase from both the local farming community and dealers in market towns. This is

shown by an anecdote recorded by Charles Monkman (1831–1875) in his biographical account of the activities of Edward Simpson, purveyor of geological specimens and antiquities generally known as ‘Flint Jack’:

In 1845 Jack says he began his ‘walks’ from Scarborough to Pickering. Here he got to know Mr. Tho. Kendall (a gentleman who has paid much attention to archaeological matters) who showed to him a collection of spurious flints which had been purchased as genuine ones from a Whitby dealer. These were Jack’s make and on being asked for his opinion he frankly told Mr. Kendall he knew where they had come from, and set to work to show the method of manufacture, initiating his patron into the mysteries of forming ‘barbs’, ‘hand-celts’ and ‘hammers.’ Jack declares that the kindness of Mr. Kendall overcame him, and he resolved to speak the truth. He did it and had no occasion for regret – he exposed the forgery and retained a friend to whom he could look for a trifle when ‘hard up.’⁷

The second anecdote is provided by John Robert Mortimer (1829–1911) from his younger days as a farmer’s son in Fimber:

The first flint arrow-head I ever saw was shown to me by the late Mr. Thomas Kendall, of Pickering, about the year 1848, when he was collecting specimens in the neighbourhood of Fimber. He wished to know if I had any like it, and on my replying I had never seen one before, he desired me to look for such on the land.⁸

Frank Elgee, writing in the late 1920s, places Thomas Kendall’s collecting and barrow opening activities in the short period between 1849 and 1853 but on what evidence he does not indicate.⁹ A mere three or four years to obtain upwards of 130 examples of Bronze Age funerary pottery does appear to be too short an activity span even by means of the contemporary practice of barrow digging by means of the central-pit method using hired labourers. Subsequent authors reviewing the personalities of nineteenth-century barrow digging in northeast Yorkshire do not expand on Elgee’s data.¹⁰ The few contemporary sources indicate the Newburgh Park barrow-digging took place prior to 1852.¹¹ Samuel Anderson of Whitby, in his 1852–53 barrow-digging records for his Barrow 17 at Fylingdales notes that, ‘Mr. Kendale (sic), of Pickering opened this barrow about 6 months prior to my looking into and obtained 6 or 7 urns’.¹² John Phillips, geologist and first keeper of the Yorkshire Museum, briefly states in 1855 that ‘The tumuli of this vicinity (Pickering Hills) have been successfully explored by Mr. Kendall’.¹³ The Rev. William Greenwell (1820–1918), of the following generation of barrow diggers and clearly acquainted with Thomas Kendall’s collection, had a terse opinion of the results of his digging activity; and Greenwell did not undertake during the 1860s and 1870s any barrow investigations around Pickering.¹⁴

Barrow-opening required an input of physical labour to dig into the soil and stone of the mound, and for this farmer labourers could be hired during any slack parts of the year; the gentlemanly skills lay in recognising burials and recovery of the sought-after primitive pottery and flint, stone, jet and occasional metal artefacts. J.R. Mortimer at the time of his visit to Thomas Mitchelson’s museum in Pickering wrote ‘On April 2nd 1894, I interviewed Mr. Thomas Dowson of Pickering, who was Kendall’s foreman in all his barrow diggings ...’ This was most likely to have been the ‘Thomas Dowson, Castlegate,

age 44. Stone quarrier' listed in the 1861 Census of Pickering, an occupation requiring experience in hard digging.

Described as a 'Landed Proprietor' in the census return of 1851 and as a 'Magistrate & Landed Proprietor' in that of 1861, Thomas Kendall's name regularly appears throughout the 1860s in the *Malton Messenger's* brief reporting of the sittings of the Pickering Magistrates Court. There was also some connection in another traditional activity of the landed gentry, the Sinnington Hunt: 'William Kendall of Ness, master for several years in the early half of the 19th Century, retired in 1853 was succeeded by his nephew Tom Kendall – he did not hunt the hounds himself and appointed a huntsman. T.M. Kendall held office for nine seasons, during his term the hunt nearly collapsed. Subscriptions fell off, etc.'¹⁵

We will never know fuller contexts of Thomas Kendall's numerous finds of Early Bronze Age pottery and associated grave goods, but research into local historical sources may yet shed more light on the how, the where and the when these most extensive North York Moors archaeological excavations finds were obtained.

Notes

¹ T.G. Manby (2009), The Mitchelson Collection and an Early Bronze Age Dagger from Lockton Warren: A Question of Antiquarian History and Assumption. *The Ryedale Historian* 24, pp. 20-30.

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The Early Bronze Age ‘Jet Necklace’ in Leeds City Museum

by T.G. Manby

In February 2009 the Leeds City Museum reopened in its new home, the imposing Victorian building of the former Leeds Mechanics Institute in Cookridge Street.¹ The archaeological gallery has among its displays the remains of an Early Bronze Age necklace of jet beads recovered during the nineteenth century from a barrow on Hesketh Moor, in the Hambleton Hills. The necklace was among a small collection of archaeological items acquired for the Leeds Philosophical Society Museum by Henry Denny (1803–1871), and was derived from barrow-opening activities on the Hambleton Hills which he described in a report to the Yorkshire Geological and Polytechnic Society.² The Leeds Philosophical Society, founded in 1819, was one of the earliest of Yorkshire’s scientific societies.³ Denny was appointed in 1826 to be the first curator of the Society’s museum that was housed in the Philosophical Hall, Park Row. A new building designed by R.D. Chantrell, housing museum and lecture theatre, was erected there in 1861–62 in Italian Renaissance style, and was later extended in Bond Street in that same style and designed by Dobson and Chorley.⁴ The Society in 1921 transferred the museum building and its collections to the City of Leeds to become the Leeds City Museum. Unfortunately, the front half of the original building was destroyed in the Second World War blitz of 1941–2, and the surviving rear of the building was used as the City Museum until 1965. Thus the partial wartime destruction of the City Museum caused an unspecified amount of the collection to be lost and much of the surviving material went uncatalogued into storage in various places in the city for decades afterwards.

Henry Denny recounted the 1864 archaeological discoveries made during barrow digging on the moors that also included some fragmentary Beakers and an Anglo-Saxon female grave group:

I obtained relics from the tumulus from Mr Johnson of Hesketh Hall on the 9th July, 1864. The tumulus was on the adjoining moor at 1,025 ft. O.D. It was 50 ft. in diameter and 3 ft. high, of limestone slabs, and appeared to be disturbed. On the north side, 2 ft. down, lay the extended skeleton of a female, the skull of which was destroyed. Near the neck the remains of a necklace of about 120 variously shaped beads of jet and Kimmeridge coal were lying - 47 cylindrical, 22 conical (about the size of a shilling,⁵ pierced at the back with two holes), also 56 discs and a connecting link of bone.⁵

The Hesketh Moor necklace was clearly a significant archaeological find but was not given any illustration at the time of its recovery, or in any subsequent publication. Displayed in the antiquities gallery of the Leeds Museum, it was seen during the 1920s by Frank Elgee who, in his volume *Early Man in North-east Yorkshire*, refers to a burial with ‘a necklace of over one hundred conical and cylindrical bog-oak beads’, but does not mention this find in his chapter on jet ornaments presumably because of his alternative identification of the material.⁶ A century later, from Denny’s account, Raymond Hayes was able to identify the actual barrow mound as a ‘still visible round barrow much ploughed down’.⁷ The National Grid reference he gave contained a misprint and should be SE 506 869, NYM 82.

The Present State of the Hesketh Moor Necklace

After the Leeds blitz the fate of the Hesketh Moor necklace and much other regional archaeological material that had been displayed in the old Leeds Museum galleries was to remain uncertain for many years into the post-war period.

I was first shown this necklace in 1954 or 1955 soon after it had been rediscovered in a storeroom; the pieces were then still stuck on a wooden display panel in an oval arrangement; many of beads and buttons were fragmented and there were gaps in the layout marked by residual adhesive patches. It all looked to be in a very fragile condition. Subsequently, the board and necklace remains disappeared again from sight for many years until a comprehensive cataloguing programme of the stored collections of Leeds City Museum was undertaken in 1968. At that time the remaining beads and buttons were dismounted and received conservation treatment. About the same time the remains of the Beakers initially found in the central area of this barrow emerged from storage.⁸

It was not until 2005 that I was able to examine and study the necklace again at the invitation of Bryan Sitch, the then-Keeper of Archaeology for Leeds City Museum. It is worth noting that, at some time in the past, the necklace had been wrongly sited to ‘Silver Hill’ instead of Hesketh Moor.

Surviving Necklace Remains: Examination 9 February 2005

Condition

Previously dismounted from the board, the buttons and cylindrical beads strung on modern copper wire, with broken bits loose in a plastic envelope. They appear to have been lacquered in modern times. Traces of old adhesive on underside of buttons and some beads also have traces of wood fibres (recent). Material black jet and shale, some showing cubic cracking.

A comparison of the originally reported number of the pieces with those that still survive shows the following:

	Buttons	Cylindrical Beads	Disc Beads	Total
Original Report	22	47	56	125 pieces
Surviving	9	22	19	40 pieces

Buttons

Circular conical and domed profile pieces with V-bored perforation into the flat under-surface that is rougher than the smooth upper surfaces. All are a deep black colour. In the late Ian Shepherd’s classification of V-bored buttons, those less than 25mm-diameter are assigned to Type 2 (conical profile) and Type 4 (domed profile).⁹

	Diameter(cm)	Height(mm)	Condition	Notes
1.	1.3	4	Worn rim	Small diameter holes
2.	1.3 x 1.5	5		
3.	1.4 x 1.8	7.3		Ovoid, 2 flattened sides
4.	1.9	6		
5.	1.5 x 1.7	6	2 pieces broken out of rim	
6.	1.4	5	Piece broken out of rim	
7.	1.4	6	Part of rim missing	
8.	1.6	6	Half circumference only (perforations in missing portion).	
9.	1.4+		One-third circumference surviving	

Cylindrical beads

1–15 are strung together; a–g are loose fragments. Barrel-shaped; smooth surfaces. Minimum diameter 5mm at the ends. Straight perforations 2–3mm.

	Length	Max. diam. (mm)	Condition
1	1.9	8	
2	1.9+	8	One end broken
3	1.9	7	
4	2.1	8	
5	2.2	6	
6	1.9	6-7	
7	2.1	8	
8	2.3	7	Pieces flaked off
9	2.5	7	
10	2.2	9	
11	1.8	6	
12	2	7	
13	1.9	9	
14	1.5+	7	Broken, about one-third missing
15	1.7	7	Broken, about one-fourth missing
a	2	10	
b	2.3+	6	Broken one end: perforation 3mm diameter
c	1.7	7	Broken one end
d-g	Small fragments, none measureable		

Disc beads

Fourteen are now strung together with the cylindrical beads for display and there are five loose fragments. Drum-shaped, average diameter 4mm, largest 6mm; thickness 3–4 mm, smallest 2mm. Perforations 2mm diameter. Dull black in colour.

The 'connecting link of bone' has, unfortunately, not survived and the character of this piece is unknown.

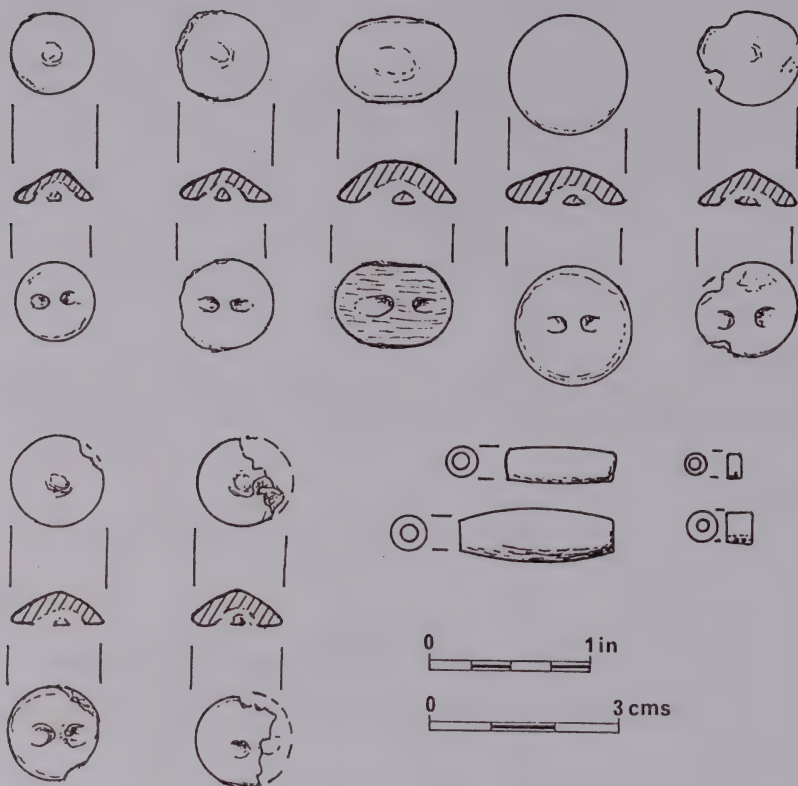


Figure 1: Hesketh Moor Necklace. Surviving small V-perforated buttons and examples of the different sizes of barrel-shaped and disc beads. Sited to 'Silver Hill, Hawnby', Leeds City Museum Accession No. D.1968.44.

Early Bronze Age Jet Ornaments and Research

Jet is a fossil mineral from the Jurassic rocks forming the coastline of the North York Moor geological block that are the only obtainable source of this desirable material used during the Early Bronze Age across the extent of the British Isles for buttons and necklaces deposited with burials. Various soft fine-grained black stones that would take a high polish were used, such as lignite, cannel coal and shale, as well as Whitby jet in both its hard and soft varieties; tracing these to their various sources by their metallic trace elements has become possible by using X-ray fluorescence spectroscopy.¹⁰ Where the sex has been determined, the bead and button necklaces accompanying an adult

female inhumation burial often had other accompanying artefacts of bronze and stone indicative of individuals of high social status.

A major scientific investigation into the Neolithic and Bronze Age jet and jet-like ornaments has been undertaken by Dr Alison Sheridan of the National Museums of Scotland, Edinburgh that has been extended from Scottish finds to the whole of the British Isles.¹¹ For the raw material origins of the compositional analysis of the ‘jet’ buttons and beads associated with Early Bronze Age burials in Scotland, Mary Davis has established that Whitby jet was widely used, along with a similar material that probably originated in the Whitby area.¹² Whitby jet ornaments were one of the desirable products circulating through Early Bronze Age exchange networks far distant from their northeast Yorkshire source, distributed in Scotland, the Peak District, East Anglia, Wessex, Wales and most distantly to Ireland and Brittany. They were copied in amber and local materials such as Coal-Measure and Kimmeridge shale and cannel coal. Whitby jet is the material utilised for buttons and barrel or cylindrical beads. It is not suitable for cutting into the thin slices required for disc beads; for these black shale is the preferred material

In terms of quantity the Hesketh Moor necklace was the most extensive assemblage of disc and barrel-shaped beads and associated small buttons recovered from northeast Yorkshire. There are necklaces consisting solely of a single strand of disc beads, or disc and barrel-shaped beads, and multi-strand necklaces with triangular and rectangular spacer plates with multiple borings for crescentic arrangement. The small buttons can occur with all three varieties of bead association.

A comparison can be made with some other necklace assemblages from the North York Moors, the Yorkshire Wolds and a Northumberland find:

Site	Small Buttons	Barrel Beads	Disc Beads	Spacer Plates	Triangular Piece	Sheet Metal Beads
<i>Northeast Yorkshire</i>						
Hesketh Moor	22	47	56			
Ingleby Barwick	25	1	80			25
Man Toft	6	28		1		
William Howe		15				
<i>Wolds</i>						
Callis Wold 13	10	35	573	2		
Garrowby 64		2	157			
Garton Slack 75			130		1	
Garton Slack 6	13		180		1	6
Garton Slack 29			150			
Weaverthorpe 44			115		1	
Goodmanham 121			124		1	
<i>Northumberland</i>						
Eglingham 200		10	100+			

The component beads and plates recovered during the nineteenth-century barrow-digging activity across the North York Moors have been discussed by Frank Elgee, with only

Egton cited as a complete necklace arising from the circumstance of recovery.¹³ These nineteenth-century finds have been summarised and illustrated in Margaret Smith's corpus of North York Moors barrow excavations with the recent jet finds of beads from W.H. Lamplough's Broxa-Suffield barrow group and Pockley barrow, and the partial worked jet pieces from Barnby Howes West.¹⁴ There is also the Street House barrow hoard of 20 jet buttons, of both the larger Type 1 and smaller Type 2.¹⁵ The two recent northeast Yorkshire barrow excavations providing relevant small button and bead necklaces associations are, respectively, on the Tabular Hills along the southern side of the moorland upland and on the Cleveland Plain (the lowlands north of the moors). Pockley Barrow 2, excavated by A.L. Pacitto in 1970, had a mixture of spacer plates, cylindrical and small disc beads, and conical buttons together on old land surface in the SW quadrant, also two more beads in fill of a Pit 2; the 'necklace did not appear to have been deposited intact'.¹⁶ (Acquired by the British Museum: the writer was not able to count the beads at the time of his visit as they required conservation.) The second association is one of a group of inhumation burials excavated by Tees Archaeology at Ingleby Barwick, on the south bank of the River Tees. Burial 6: in a large grave pit an adult female; accompanied by 25 Type 2 jet buttons, 80 jet disc beads, a cylindrical bead, a stone bead, at least 45 tubular bronze bead covers, and two sheet bronze armlets. The C14 dating was UBBb-4174 3609±24 BP. 2030-1899 cal BC at 2 sigma.¹⁷

Small Buttons

Unlike their larger diameter counterparts, designated as Types 1 and 6, these small diameter V-bored jet buttons of the Types 2–4 have a frequent association with necklaces, the Type 2 particularly with the elaborated spacer plate necklaces.¹⁸ That these small buttons in association with the disc and barrel or cylindrical beads had been strung together is apparent in some cases where partial wear on their rims is an indication of usage side by side in a row at some time. When integrated into necklaces they may represent a reuse of a prized material, but in other cases an individual association occurs and small buttons are sufficient in number to form a distinct arrangement in themselves.¹⁹ This is the case at Garton Slack Site 6; in front of the chest of the contracted inhumation burial, the necklace of disc beads incorporated six cylindrical sheet bronze beads and had a jet triangular fastening piece.²⁰ At a slightly higher level than the beads the small buttons were observed to be in six parallel pairs, the thirteenth button centrally positioned in between. The excavator interpreted this to indicate that the buttons were distinctively mounted, perhaps on a garment folded in front of the burial.²¹ Garton Slack 6 provided a C14 date of OxA-V-2199-34 3781±31 BP. 2458-2050 cal BC at 2 sigma.²²

Disc Beads

These were used to form a single strand necklace, frequently with a single triangular or oval perforated piece described in older literature as 'a pendant' or a centrepiece, but observed excavated layouts suggest they were a fastening piece for the end of the suspension cord. Such a single strand of small disc beads, with a triangular fastening piece, came from Garton Slack Barrow 75, Burial 2, an adult female contracted inhumation 'wore a necklace ... of small perforated jet disc, and a triangular piece of the same material'.²³ There were also an accompanying Food Vessel and a bronze awl.

Disc beads were used as spacing pieces when associated with barrel-shaped beads, or for tapering down the ends of the strands from large beads. A parallel example of a necklace

composed of disc and barrel-shaped beads was recovered by Canon William Greenwell at Eglingham in Northumberland.²⁴ From the floor of a stone slab cist where in the acid soil conditions no trace remained of burial, he stated that the necklace arrangement was a single strand of 10 jet barrel-shaped beads each interspaced with 10 disc beads (see Figure 2 below). However, it is not clear if this was an actual observation during excavation or a convenient reconstruction using the bead numbers obtained.

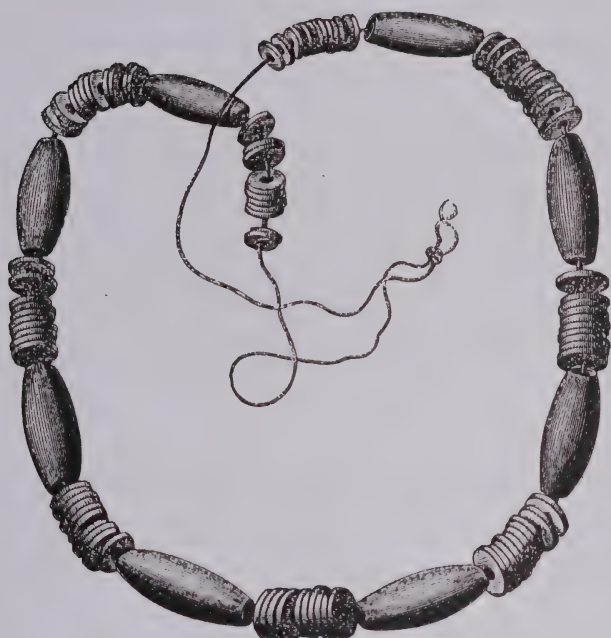


Figure 2: The necklace of barrel-shaped and disc beads from Eglingham Barrow 200, Northumberland. Depicted as engraving in Greenwell's *British Barrows*; actual size. The suspension cord is an artistic addition.

Reconciliation

In the circumstances, it is not possible to do more than speculate on the stringing arrangements of the Hesketh Moor assemblage; we have only the report that the beads came from 'near the neck' of the skeleton; more detail is required if we are to understand how they were worn and how they were related to the contemporary clothing of which the preserved organic materials have left us in total ignorance. There is also a problem of the quality of the excavation. Could some of the small sized disc beads have been overlooked? However, there are many more Hesketh Moor beads of the cylindrical barrel-shaped variety than required for a single strand; based on an average length of 20mm, the original 47 barrel-shaped beads strung together singly would be 94cm long;

the original 56 disc beads, at an average thickness of 3mm, strung singly would be 16.8cm in length.

There is one Scottish assemblage from Masterton, Fife comparable in bead numbers. Composed of 67 barrel-shaped beads, 91 disc beads and a fastening piece, the arrangement of these was particularly well recorded.²⁵ On the floor of a stone slab cist the necklace layout consisted of five strands of jet barrel beads with the disc beads at the ends of the rows to taper them into a crescentic arrangement. The Masterton assemblage is the only instance in Scotland of such a multiple-strand disc and barrel bead arrangement of the numerous spacer-plate necklaces; and some of its constituents are reused pieces.²⁶

It is perhaps some small advance to determine more definitely the character of the Hesketh Moor find made a century and a half ago and to establish its place among the series of jet and jet-like ornaments; bog-oak is not represented. Some further interpretation of the ornaments can be offered by comparison with the wider Yorkshire regional and wider inter-regional parallels. But at best this is a salvage of a tragic archaeological loss resulting from war. Only a third of the original assemblage has survived, a loss to archaeology that is only exceeded by that of so much of the Samuel Anderson Bronze Age pottery also at that same time in Liverpool Museum.²⁷

Acknowledgements

Grateful thanks are given to Bryan Sitch, sometime Keeper of Archaeology, Leeds City Museum, for locating the necklace for the writer to study, and to Dr. Alison Sheridan, National Museums of Scotland for kindly providing insights into the knowledge of the manufacturing techniques of Early Bronze Age jet and shale ornaments.

Notes

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⁵ Denny, op. cit., p. 490.

⁶ F. Elgee (1930), *Early Man in North-east Yorkshire*. Gloucester: Bellows, p. 60.

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⁸ Varley, R.A. (1973), Three Beakers from the Hambleton Hills. *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 45, pp. 169-172; Smith, op.cit., p. 104, NYM 82, Fig. 69, pp. 1-4.

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¹⁰ Pollard, A.M., Bussell, G.D. and Baird, D.C. (1981), The Analytical Investigation of Early Bronze Age Jet and Jet-like Material from Devizes Museum. *Archaeometry* 23, pp. 143-167.

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- ¹³ Elgee, F., op. cit., p. 112.
- ¹⁴ Smith (1994), op. cit., pp. 21-22, 183, Table 13.
- ¹⁵ Vyner, B.E. (1984), The excavation of a Neolithic cairn at Street House, Loftus, Cleveland. *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 50, pp. 177-182, Fig. 19.
- ¹⁶ Smith (1994), op. cit., p. 111; NYM 89.
- ¹⁷ Annis, R., Neolithic and Early Bronze Age Burials from Windmill Fields, Ingleby Barwick, Cleveland; *Yorkshire Archaeological Society Prehistory Research Section Bulletin* 35 (1998), pp. 6-7; Shepherd, op. cit., pp. 340, 363, No. 98: Vyner, B.E. in Annis (in preparation);
- ¹⁸ Shepherd, op. cit., p. 340.
- ¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 346-47.
- ²⁰ Brewster, T.C.M. (1980), *The Excavation in Garton and Wetwang Slacks*. Microfiche Publication. London: Royal Commission on the Historic Monuments of England, pp. 202-06, Figs 90-92.
- ²¹ Ibid., p. 204, Fig. 90.
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- ²³ Mortimer, J.R. (1905), *Forty Years Researches in British and Saxon Burial Mounds of East Yorkshire*. London: A. Brown & Sons, p. 223, Fig. 575.
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- ²⁵ Hensall, A.S. and Wallace, J.C. (1962-63), A Bronze Age Cist Burial at Masterton, Pitreavie, Fife. *Proc. Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 96, pp. 146-47, Figure 2, Plate XIV.
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Rock Art and Ritual: Interpreting the Prehistoric Landscapes of the North York Moors

by Brian A. Smith and Alan A. Walker

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ISBN: 978 0 7524 4634 9

Price: £14.99 (Paperback)

In September 2003, at the end of the hottest summer of recent years, a major fire engulfed a large area of unmanaged moorland at the eastern end of the North York Moors above Ravenscar. The authors found that the removal of all the vegetation had uncovered many more marked stones than had been recorded previously. A number of enthusiastic amateur archaeologists, including the authors of this book and Paul Brown and Graeme Chappell, the authors of *Prehistoric Rock Art in the North York Moors*,¹ set to work to record all these stones and their positions, using hand-held GPS and spending hundreds of hours on the moors above Ravenscar. English Heritage funded a broader-based survey early in 2004 which was led by the professional archaeologists Blaise Vyner and Steve Sherlock. Photographs of many of the stones are included in the book and the colour photographs especially are of a high quality. About 180 cup-marked stones were recorded, but the problems of discussing their purpose or distribution are formidable as neither their date (possibly about 3000 BC) nor their original purpose is known.

Earlier in 2003 Smith and Walker had attended a conference on British rock art at Durham University at which Professor Richard Bradley had acknowledged the work of amateur archaeologists in locating and recording prehistoric carved stones but had added that 'insufficient work has been conducted in attempting to understand the carvings they have recorded. It is the duty of these researchers to attempt to interpret the data they are collecting.'

This statement could be regarded as somewhat disingenuous as Professor Bradley, who is Professor of Archaeology at Reading University and an authority on British prehistory, had published in 1997 *Rock Art and the Prehistory of Atlantic Europe*² which is a masterly survey of rock art in the British Isles, France and Spain and its dating and interpretation.

However, encouraged by Bradley, the authors wrote four papers describing what they had found and putting forward their interpretations, and those of some earlier authors, and put them together to produce this book.

The enthusiasm of the authors carries the reader along, but can also lead them to make what may seem like exaggerated claims. In Chapter One, they study the distribution of marked stones and small cairns on the moors above Ravenscar and show that there is a high degree of probability that they are directly associated with prehistoric pathways. However, this suggestion has already been made,³ so to describe it in the introduction as 'the most significant in the study of British prehistoric rock motifs since studies began in the mid C19th' seems to be rather over the top.

To me, Chapter Four, on the Brow Moor Monument in its prehistoric context, is the most interesting. A stone with markings different to the others on the moor was found as part of a ring of stones on Brow Moor. This was partially excavated by Blaise, Vyner and

Steve Shurlock, and I regret the caution of English Heritage in only authorising the excavation of a small part of the monument as more information could have been gained for comparisons with other monuments. The comparison the authors draw between this stone and the late Neolithic cairn excavated in 1953 at Millin Bay at the southern end of the Ards Peninsula in Co. Down is extremely interesting. (I lived on the Ards Peninsula from 1960–67 and had not heard of the excavation before.) The amazing state of preservation of the Millin Bay monument has allowed the authors to make some intriguing speculations about the nature of Neolithic religious beliefs.

Chapter Five, entitled ‘The Wainstones’, is a rather tough read unless accompanied by detailed study of the OS map. I would like to take issue with the authors’ description of a few large stones which have been carved with channels, cups and basins ‘that appear to control the flow of water during heavy rainfall’ as water features. One of these rocks, the Cheddar Stone (illustration 13b), is in a very dramatic position in the landscape and I would like to suggest that it may have been the site of bull sacrifices, and that it was blood, not water, which flowed out of the basin.⁴

The next chapter, ‘Adventures in Archaeoastronomy’, describing the authors’ observation of the summer solstice, is very entertaining to read. This chapter includes some discussion of the meaning of the grooves on the Hugh Kendall or p stone (illustration 18a on page 88). This stone has already been discussed on page 48 (illustration 10 on page 47) but this is not pointed out to the reader, presumably because these discussions are in two different essays. Some cross references would have been helpful. The remaining chapters are increasingly speculative, and rely to some extent on the widely accepted views of the Romanian historian of religion, Mircea Eliade.

To sum up, this book has the virtues of having been published promptly (a lesson to many archaeologists), written in an engaging and enthusiastic style and excellent photographs. It would have benefited from having the four essays more carefully moulded into a whole, and from some more careful reading of the books which are referenced. It is a thought-provoking read for those who are able to keep their critical faculties fully engaged.

Terence Boyle

Notes

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³ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

⁴ For some discussion of Indo-European bull sacrifices see R.C. Zaehner (1991), *The Dawn and Twilight of Zoroastrianism*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.

Marton: A Short History

by Richard Lawton

Publisher: Marton Parish Meeting, 2009

Price: £12.50

To purchase copies, contact Peter Mansfield (01751 430752)

Despite the title, this fascinating and full book is not short but 171 pages long. There are also 49 photos, maps and watercolours.

It opens with descriptions of geology and prehistory. Marton started as a small, pastoral settlement dependent on Sinnington, in which manor and ecclesiastical parish it is situated. It has probably existed as a settlement since the eighth century but was first recorded in the Domesday Book.

The book has short sections on the medieval and Tudor periods and the eighteenth century. Marton probably evolved gradually. The oldest houses are The Crofts and The Aspens and there was a surge of building from the 1760s.

The history becomes far more detailed from Victorian times onward, using many documentary sources: White's and Kelly's directories, census returns and a large number of local records. Chapels were opened in 1821 and 1826 and a school in 1849. The 1851 Census was detailed on crafts and services. Land drainage in the early nineteenth century produced pastures and hay meadows and small milking herds developed. Market gardening expanded after the opening of the railway in 1875, and produce was sent to Leeds and Whitby. There were three shops in the village in the mid-nineteenth century.

Late Victorian years saw a decline in agricultural population and an increase in social mobility. The proportion of 'home-grown' population lessens, as shown by records of births and marriages. Pickering Rural District Council was set up in 1894. Marton Parish Council first met in the following year but in 1908 it became a Parish Meeting. Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee in 1897 was marked by a free tea, and the coronation of King George V in 1911 by a free meat tea.

Nearly half the book examines the twentieth century and shows very well the gradual change away from a rural society. Social mobility is examined by comparison of surnames at different dates. The First World War brought a golden age to an end, and six out of a population of 150 died in the fighting. After the war the small family farms continued, specialising in dairy cattle and fruit. The village hall was opened as a war memorial in 1921. Horse-based carriers were important but motor coaches and private cars greatly helped accessibility. Chapel Sunday School outings to Scarborough were annual highlights. By comparison, the Second World War saw no deaths in action. But evacuee children from Middlesbrough and Hull arrived.

Post-war years saw advances in education; bright children went to Lady Lumley's Grammar School in Pickering. The village school closed in 1969 and children transferred to the new school at Sinnington. The Brown family left the Spotted Cow pub in 1970 after 200 years. Educational opportunities marked the beginning of widespread loss of young people to other areas. There is no longer a village shop.

The final section covers 1975 to the present day. Most residents are now working in service and professional jobs, and retirement in-migration has grown. One exotic sight is Augusto's circus, with llamas and other animals. Thriving village activities include computer and gardening clubs, line-dancing and short-mat bowling. The Queen's Golden Jubilee in 2002 was marked by a street party. Marton has had very successful fundraising efforts for its 'public' buildings, i.e. the village hall, mission room and chapel, including recent provision of a car park and a safe footpath at the first. The Spotted Cow became the Appletree and gained a good reputation for cooking, although since the book was published it has closed. Matters debated by the Parish Meeting include planning, new housing development, flooding, the state of the roads, traffic speeding and grass cutting on the green. The history ends with findings of a comprehensive survey of residents from June 2006 which allowed accurate analysis of the structure of population and of work patterns.

Richard 'Dick' Lawton took a geography degree at Liverpool University and spent his whole life there, rising through the ranks to professor and then emeritus professor. He had family living in Ryedale and retired to Marton in 1990. Sadly he died on 22 March 2010. Marton is indeed fortunate that someone of his ability and knowledge wrote this very thorough history.

Pat Sutor

Dalby: Valley of Change

Second, revised edition

by John Rushton and Brian Walker

Publisher: Newby Books, 2009

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The title chosen for this splendid book scarcely does it justice. Its value lies in its magisterial account of the creation of the Royal Forest of Pickering, and its subsequent management and evolution in the medieval period. This is dense, scholarly research which tells us much about the details and context of medieval land management, the complex network of social linkages within the forest economy, and the variety of tenure, rights and restrictions.

Subsequently, a residue – some 3597 hectares (8888 acres) – became the present Dalby Forest. In 1921 the newly formed Forestry Commission acquired the first 1593 acres from the Duchy of Lancaster and has continued to acquire land and develop its estate ever since. There is a final chapter by Brian Walker of the Forestry Commission on present-day administration.

The book was first published in 1976 in a limited edition which was difficult to obtain. This has now been rectified by the new edition, which benefits from larger print and a more attractive format. Only the absence of adequate maps is a cause for regret. For such a scholarly and valuable book an index would have been useful, but one can appreciate that with such a density of material an index might have added a disproportionate number of pages.

In 1106 the area between the Humber and the Tees had not recovered from King William's 1070 savage scorched earth campaign which had ruined the economy of the area. Henry I created the Forest of Pickering, based on Pickering Castle (probably while staying at the castle), and it is tempting to see it as the most sensible land use in the circumstances, what we might today call 'stimulating the economy'. However, most royal forests were created in areas not subject to such deliberate destruction. Thereafter, the extent of the Royal Forest of Pickering as an estate was gradually eroded, as indeed was central control.

The forest and the castle were given in 1267 by Henry III to his son Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, was subsequently confiscated, but again became royal property in 1399 when Henry IV became king. The forest, in the medieval sense, included the fields and meadows of the villages; the commons outside the fields included carrs, pastures, scrub, woodland and moor. Forest management initially included the fields in order to protect the game, but was primarily concerned with the 'commons'.

Duchy of Lancaster property still extends as far as the coast which gives one some perspective on just how large the original Forest of Pickering was, only part of which was, of course woodland. The original overriding royal interests were control and patronage at the political level, and conservation of the hunting potential, which was also a form of patronage; estates (manors) were given as hereditary tenancies in return for managing the forest. Rushton's account of deer management, the laws of the forest, forest courts, estate officers and the way they worked is always clear and helpful, as is the explanation of medieval terms: 'laundes' as natural open grassland sheltered amidst woods; 'stable stand' as someone about to shoot at a deer with longbow or crossbow at the ready.

By the thirteenth century the area had recovered economically and pressures had built up for more intensive exploitation of the landscape; more land was taken into cultivation, or given to monasteries or the nobility and the villages were prospering. Substantial duchy sheep flocks, overseen by two sheep masters, were grazed, and different assets let out in a process of managed estate diversification, thirteenth-century style. Sheep carcasses and wool were stored prior to sale in the castle.

Evidence from the fourteenth century shows the substantial amount of stock rounded up on 'drift days' (stocktaking days), and the variety of people of high and low degree whose stock was listed and had to be dealt with according to customary procedures. Rushton's account well illustrates the annual rhythm of country people, gentry, estate agents, skilled labourers, smallholders with part time jobs, going about the seasonal round; this includes an illuminating account of a poaching foray in 1311, a party of 12, which reads like an account of a twenty-first century rough shooting day, but without the 4 x 4s.

It is clear that the woodland cover was diminishing in spite of the systems of regulation. Chief foresters had to keep accounts of all trees felled, and indeed fines for taking trees were more frequent than for taking game.

Sometime after the Black Death and into the fifteenth century tenancies of farms began to be made to prominent local figures, often holding forest offices, and eventually the Duchy ceased to manage its own large sheep flocks. However, Richard III appointed Sir Edmund Hastings, Master Forester, in 1483; a survey had found the game much diminished and the king, wanting stocks replenished, ordered no hunting for three years. Foresters continued to be appointed by the crown through the sixteenth century, and under Elizabeth there was a further moratorium on hunting. The surveyor in 1619 reported that red deer were so few that he thought for every one there could be 5000 sheep. Intakes had become increasingly frequent, Sir Richard Cholmley in 1580 making substantial encroachments and building himself a house at Haugh Rigg; other big landowners followed suit.

It is hardly surprising that the duchy surveyor in 1619 said that there was little timber left in the Forest: 'it hath been taken and felled long since'. It must have been hard for regeneration to take place with the sheep, cattle, horse and deer grazing that had been taking place, the pressures of local people for small wood, and the difficulties of fencing for long enough. Rushton describes the efforts to reverse this situation and establish a managed coppice cycle in the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth centuries (in modern terms, re-establishing sustainability). There is an explanation of the woodman's dialect language, and an account of the care taken by craftsmen going into the woods to select for particular needs and the careful oversight of forestry officials.

If one must choose one incident among so much fascinating material, it might be the effect of the purchase of the Thornton Manor in 1669 from Lady Lumley by the enterprising Hill family. The Hill family went on to acquire further extensive property, the Stewardship of the Honour of Pickering as well as an assignment of the lease of the castle and manor of Pickering. They negotiated enclosures, introduced paper-making milling, cattle improvement programmes, and created rabbit breeding in warrens on a huge scale. Rabbits became more important than sheep; by 1817 the warrens occupied an area of enclosed commons of some 6000 acres of the limestone hills. A stage had been reached where the deer had gone, woodland was reduced to narrow belts along the valley sides, the high riggs were devoted to rabbits and sheep, and the lower lands and valley pastures were in various types of tenancy.

The Hills then turned their attention to an impressive woodland improvement programme, starting in 1738 with the purchase of 7600 young trees. Rushton's account of the initiation and management by the Hill family of their woodland improvement programme is as good as the account of the rabbit warren enterprise. The Hill family enterprises also inspired neighbouring landowners to improve. However, the medieval Forest of Pickering was in reality no more; it had become a complex of diversified landed estates, farms and agricultural villages along the southern margins of the limestone hills.

The return of the Forest in its new and contemporary form had to wait until the 1914–18 war changed everything, and the Forestry Commission set to work on their great task. Rushton's detailed examination of Dalby at the epicentre of this historical journey from 1106 to 1976 has done us a great service. The exposition of the material for the medieval period would be an achievement in itself, while the availability of the documents from the Hill family for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has enabled a fascinating account of that period. Although the coverage would have been broader had some documentation been available for the duchy estate record, I doubt that the illumination of the country life of the period that Rushton has achieved would have been greatly advanced. This book will be of prime interest to people interested in the history of the area, but also to a wider circle interested in the management of forest or woodland, in effect a case study from the Conquest to the advent of climate change.

Jonathan Allison

Ryedale Historian

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Cover illustration: The centre arch of Nunnington Bridge. Photo: Peter Witham.
